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THE
HISTORICAL ANNALS

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THE
HISTORICAL ANNALS

OF
CORNELIUS TACITUS:

WITH SUPPLEMENTS,
BY ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis
dictis Factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit.

Tacitus, Ann. III. s. 65.

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THE
ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK I.

I. THE first form of government that prevailed at Rome was monarchy. Liberty and the consulship were established by Lucius Junius Brutus. Dictators were created in sudden emergencies only. The jurisdiction of the decemvirs did not extend beyond two years; and the consular authority of the military tribunes soon expired. The domination of Cinna ended in a short time; and that of Sylla was not of long duration. From Pompey and Crassus, the whole power of the state devolved to Julius Cæsar, and, after the struggle with Lepidus and Antony, centred in Augustus; who, under the mild and well-known title of PRINCE OF THE SENATE, took upon him the management of the commonwealth, enfeebled as it was by an exhausting series of civil wars. But the memorable transactions of the old republic, as well in her day of adversity, as in the tide of success, have been recorded by writers of splendid genius. Even in the time of Augustus there flourished a race of authors, from whose abilities that period might have received ample justice: but the spirit of adulation growing epidemic, the dignity of the historic character was lost. What has been transmitted to us concerning Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, cannot be received without great mistrust. During the lives of those emperors, fear suppressed or disfigured the truth; and after their deaths, recent feelings gave an edge to resentment. For this reason, it is my intention shortly to state some particulars relating to Augustus, chiefly towards the close of his life; and thence to follow downward the thread of my narra-

tion through the reigns of Tiberius, and his three immediate successors, free from animosity and partial affection, with the candour of a man who has no motives, either of love or hatred, to warp his integrity.

II. The fate of Brutus and Cassius being decided, the commonwealth had no longer an army engaged in the cause of public liberty. The younger Pompey received a total overthrow on the coast of Sicily; Lepidus was deprived of his legions; and Marc Antony fell on his own sword. In that situation the partisans of Julius Cæsar had no leader but Octavius, who laid aside the invidious title of Triumvir, content with the more popular name of Consul, and with the tribunitian power, which he professed to assume for the protection of the people. In a little time, when he had allured to his interest the soldiery, by a profusion of largesses, the people by distribution of corn, and the minds of men in general by the sweets of peace, his views grew more aspiring. By degrees, and almost imperceptibly, he drew into his own hands the authority of the senate, the functions of the magistrates, and the administration of the laws. To these encroachments no opposition was made. The true republicans had perished either in the field of battle, or by the rigour of proscriptions: of the remaining nobility, the leading men were raised to wealth and honours, in proportion to the alacrity with which they courted the yoke; and all who in the distraction of the times had risen to affluence, preferred immediate ease and safety to the danger of contending for ancient freedom. The provinces acquiesced under the new establishment, weary of the mixed authority of the senate and people; a mode of government long distracted by contentions among the great, and in the end rendered intolerable by the avarice of public magistrates; while the laws afforded a feeble remedy, disturbed by violence, defeated by intrigue, and undermined by bribery and corruption.

III. In this state of affairs, Augustus selected Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Agrippa, to prop and strengthen his administration. The former, who was his sister's son, and still a youth, he raised to the

dignity of pontiff and ædile: on the latter, by his birth obscure, but eminent for military talents, and the companion of all his victories, he conferred the honour of two successive consulships; and in a short time after, upon the untimely death of Marcellus, chose him for his son-in-law. Tiberius Nero, and Claudius Drusus, the sons of his wife Livia, were adorned with the title of IMPERATOR, though the succession in the house of Augustus was at that time well secured by other branches of the house of Cæsar. He had already adopted into the imperial family Caius and Lucius, the two sons of Agrippa; and to see them, even before they had put on the manly gown, considered as princes of the Roman youth, and marked out as future consuls, was his ardent desire; though, for political reasons, he chose to disguise his sentiments. To obtain those honours for his family was the wish of his heart; while, under a show of coy reluctance, he seemed to reject them. Agrippa departed this life, and in a short time after his two sons were cut off; Lucius Cæsar on his road to join the army in Spain; and Caius on his return from Armenia, where he had received a wound that impaired his health. Whether they died by their own premature fate, or the machinations of their step-mother Livia, is to this day problematical. Drusus had paid his debt to nature, leaving Tiberius the only surviving son-in-law of the emperor. The current of court favour was now directed that way. He was adopted by Augustus, declared his colleague in the government, his associate in the tribunitian power, and shown as the rising sun to the army, not, as before, by the secret arts of Livia, but with her open and avowed direction. Augustus was now in the decline of life, and Livia had gained unbounded influence over his affections. By her contrivance Agrippa Posthumus, the only surviving grandson of the emperor, was banished to the isle of Planasia. In praise of this young man much cannot be said: he was a stranger to the liberal arts, uncouth, unformed, and stupidly valuing himself on his bodily strength; yet free from vice, or the imputation of crime.

At this time Germanicus, the immediate descendant of Drusus, was appointed to the command of eight legions on the Rhine. By the emperor's directions Tiberius adopted him as his son, though he had then issue of his own growing up to manhood. The policy, no doubt, was to guard the succession, with additional securities. Augustus, in that juncture, had no war upon his hands, that in Germany excepted; which was carried on, not with a view to extension of empire, or any solid advantage, but solely to expiate the disgrace incurred by the loss of Varus and his legions. A perfect calm prevailed at Rome: the magistrates retained their ancient names; the younger part of the community were born since the battle of Actium, and the old during the civil wars: how many were then living who had seen the constitution of their country?

IV. The government thus overthrown, nothing remained of ancient manners, or ancient spirit. Of independence, or the equal condition of Roman citizens, no trace was left. All ranks submitted to the will of the prince, little solicitous about the present hour; while Augustus, in the vigour of health, maintained at once his own dignity, the honour of his house, and the public tranquillity. In process of time, when worn with age, and failing under bodily infirmities, he seemed to approach the last act, a new scene presented itself to the hopes of men. Some amused themselves with ideas of ancient liberty, many dreaded the horrors of a civil war, and others wished for public commotion; the greater part discussed, with a variety of opinions, the character of the new masters at that moment impending over the state. "Agrippa was "rude and savage; disgrace added to his natural ferocity; and in point of age and experience, he was "by no means equal to the weight of empire. Tiberius was matured by years; he had gained a reputation in war, but the pride of the Claudian family "was inveterate in his nature, and his inbred cruelty, "however suppressed with art, announced itself in "various shapes. Trained up in the imperial house, "in the very bosom of despotism, he had been inured

“from his youth to the pomp and pride of consulships and triumphs. During the years which he passed in a seeming retreat, but real exile, in the isle of Rhodes, he meditated nothing so much as plans of future vengeance, clandestine pleasures, and the arts of dissimulation.” To these reflections the public added their dread of a mother, raging with all the impotence of female ambition: a whole people, they said, were to be enslaved by a woman, and two young men, who in the beginning would hang heavy on the state, and in the end distract and rend it to pieces by their own dissensions.

V. While these and other observations of a similar nature employed the public mind, the health of Augustus declined apace. The wickedness of his wife was not supposed to remain inactive. A rumour prevailed, that Augustus had gone a few months before, in a private manner, with a select party, and Fabius Maximus, his confidential friend, to the island of Planasia, on a visit to Agrippa. The meeting was said to be of the tenderest nature: tears were shed by both, and a scene of mutual affection followed. From that interview hopes were conceived, that the young prince would be once more restored to the favour and protection of his grandfather. The secret soon transpired: Fabius communicated the whole to his wife Marcia, and by her it was conveyed to Livia. Augustus knew that he had been betrayed. Maximus died soon after, perhaps, by his own hand: but of that nothing can be said with certainty. At his funeral Marcia was heard, in the vehemence of distress and sorrow, to accuse herself of being accessory to the death of her husband. However that may be, Tiberius had scarcely set foot in Illyricum when he received despatches from his mother, requiring his immediate presence. He arrived at Nola: but whether Augustus was still living, or breathed his last, must be left in doubt. By Livia's order the palace and all the avenues were closely guarded: favourable accounts were issued from time to time; and with that artifice mankind was amused till all proper measures were concerted. At length

the same report that announced the death of Augustus, proclaimed Tiberius in possession of the supreme power.

VI. The first exploit of the new reign was the murder of Agrippa Posthumus. A centurion of undaunted resolution attacked him by surprise. Though unprovided with arms, the young man did not easily yield: he fell after a stout resistance. Of this event Tiberius made no report to the senate, content with hinting a pretended order of his deceased father, by which the centurion, charged with the custody of Agrippa's person, was commanded to despatch him, as soon as the emperor breathed his last. Augustus, it is true, had arraigned the character and conduct of the young man in terms of asperity; he had even banished him by a decree of the senate: but it is equally true, that he never imbrued his hands in the blood of his kindred; nor is it probable that, for the security of a stepson, he would have doomed to death a descendant from himself. The stronger presumption is, that Tiberius and Livia, the former impelled by his dread of a rival, and the latter, by the malice of a step-mother, were accomplices in the murder. When the assassin, in the military phrase, reported to Tiberius, that what he had given in orders was duly executed, the reply of the new emperor was, that he had given no such orders, and for what was done the centurion must answer before the senate.

A disavowal so very extraordinary gave the alarm to Sallustius Crispus, a minister then in favour, and trusted with the secrets of the court. The warrant for the execution had passed through his hands. He dreaded a public examination; well aware that, whether he disclosed the truth, or attempted to disguise it, his own danger would, in either case, be precisely the same. To ward off the blow, he remonstrated to Livia, that the secret counsels of the imperial family, the conduct of ministers, and the actions of the centurions, ought to be veiled from the public eye. By referring too much to the senate, the prince would weaken his own authority: that men should be ac-

countable to the sovereign only, was a branch of the imperial prerogative: and if Tiberius departed from it, he ceased to reign.

VII. At Rome, in the mean time, all things tended to a state of abject servitude. Consuls, senators, and Roman knights contended with emulation, who should be the most willing slaves. The higher each person's rank, the more he struggled for the foremost place in bondage. All appeared with a studied countenance. An air of gaiety might dishonour the memory of Augustus, and sadness would ill befit the opening of a new reign. A motley farce was acted; and grief and joy, distress and flattery, succeeding by turns, were curiously mixed and blended. The oath of fidelity to Tiberius was taken first by the two consuls, Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, and by them administered to Seius Strabo and Caius Turranius; the former, præfect of the prætorian bands; the latter, controller of the corn and public stores. Their example was followed by the senate, the army, and the mass of the people.

To make every thing move from the consuls, was the policy of Tiberius. He affected the appearance of republican principles, as if the constitution still subsisted, and he himself had formed no design to destroy it. The very proclamation, by which he convened the senate, professed no other authority than that of the tribunitian power conferred upon him by Augustus. The proclamation itself was short, and penned in modest terms; importing, that "the business of the meeting was, to decree funeral honours to his deceased father: as to himself, he could not leave the body; that office of piety was the only function that he presumed to exercise." This was, indeed, the language of moderation; but Augustus was no sooner dead, than he assumed the supreme authority: in his character of emperor, he took upon him the whole military command; he gave the word to the prætorian guards: sentinels were stationed round the palace; the soldiers appeared under arms; the magnificence of a court was seen in all its forms; guards attended him to the forum; guards

conducted him to the senate-house; all things announced the sovereign. In his despatches to the army, he was already the successor of Augustus: he spoke the style and language of a recognised emperor, without reserve, and in the tone of power, equivocal only when he addressed the senate.

The fact was, Tiberius dreaded Germanicus. A commander in chief, who had so many legions under his direction, who had formed connexions with the allies of Rome, and was besides the idol of the people, might choose to seize the government, rather than linger in expectation. For this reason the fathers were to be managed. There was at the bottom another motive; if, in appearance, he owed his elevation, not to the intrigues of an ambitious mother, or the adoption of a superannuated emperor, but to the voice of the people, it would redound more to his glory. The opportunity was also fair, to pry into the temper and dispositions of the leading senators. The event showed that his indecision was policy in disguise. He noted the words of men; he watched their looks; warped every circumstance into a crime; and, hoarding all in his memory, gathered rancour for a future day.

VIII. At the first meeting of the senate, the funeral of Augustus was the only subject of debate. The emperor's will was brought forward by the vestal virgins. Tiberius and Livia were declared his heirs. The latter was adopted into the Julian family, with the additional title of AUGUSTA. His grand-children and their issue were next in succession; in the third degree he named the nobles of Rome: not indeed from motives of personal regard, for the greater part had been for a long time obnoxious; but a bequest so generous and magnificent might gain the applause of future ages. In the rest of his legacies the will was in the style of a Roman citizen: if we except the clauses, whereby he gave to the Roman people four hundred thousand great sesterces, to the inferior commonalty five-and-thirty thousand, to each prætorian soldier one thousand small sesterces, and to every common man belonging to the legions three hundred,

he affected neither pomp nor grandeur. The will being read, the funeral honours were taken into consideration. The chief propositions were, that *the procession should pass through the triumphal gate*; this was moved by Asinius Gallus: *that the titles of all the laws of Augustus, and the names of the conquered nations, should be carried before the body*, was the motion of Lucius Arruntius. Valerius Messala was of opinion, that *the oath of fidelity to Tiberius should be renewed every year*; and being thereupon interrogated by the prince, whether that motion was made with his privacy? *I made it*, said Messala, *upon my own suggestion; in matters of public concern, however, it may give umbrage, the conviction of my own heart shall be the only rule of my conduct*. The age had left no other mode of flattery. The senate with one voice insisted that the body should be borne to the funeral pile upon their own shoulders. Tiberius assented with seeming condescension but real arrogance. The Field of Mars was the place appointed for the ceremony. A proclamation was issued, warning the populace to restrain their zeal, and not require that the last duties should be performed in the Forum, as had been done with tumult and disorder at the funeral of Julius Cæsar.

On the day appointed for the ceremony, the soldiers were drawn up under arms; a circumstance that served only to provoke the ridicule of all who remembered the day, or heard of it from their fathers, when Cæsar the dictator was put to death. In that early period of slavery, and in the first emotions of joy for liberty in vain recovered, the blow for freedom seemed a murder to some, and to others a glorious sacrifice. But in the present juncture, when a prince worn out with age, who had grown gray in power, and left a long train of heirs, was to receive the last funeral obsequies, at such a time to call forth the military, in order to secure a quiet interment, was a vain parade, as ridiculous as it was unnecessary.

IX. Augustus now became the subject of public discussion. Frivolous circumstances engaged the attention of the greater number. They observed that the

anniversary of his accession to the imperial dignity, was the day of his death. He died at Nola, in the same house, and in the same chamber, where Octavius his father breathed his last. They called to mind, in wonder and amaze, the number of his consulships, equal to those of Valerius Corvinus and Caius Marius put together. The tribunitian power continued in his hands during a series of seven-and-thirty years; he was saluted IMPERATOR no less than one-and-twenty times; and other titles of distinction were either invented or revived to adorn his name. Reflections of a different kind were made by thinking men. They rejudged the life of the emperor, and pronounced with freedom. By his apologists, it was argued, "that filial piety to his adopted father, the distraction of the times, and the ruin of the laws, made the part he took in the civil wars an act of necessity; and civil war can neither be undertaken or conducted on principles of honour and strict justice. To revenge the death of Julius Cæsar, was the primary motive. To obtain that end, he made concessions to Antony, and he temporized with Lepidus: but when the latter grew gray in sloth, and the former fell a victim to his voluptuous passions, the commonwealth, convulsed by party divisions, had no resource but the government of one. There was, however, no monarchy, no dictator: content with the unassuming title of Prince of the Senate, he established peace, and settled the constitution. The ocean and far distant rivers marked his boundaries of the empire. The legions, the provinces, and the fleets of Rome acted in concert, with all the strength of system. Justice was duly administered at home; the allies were treated with moderation; and magnificent structures rose to adorn the capital. Violent measures were rarely adopted, and never but for the good of the whole."

X. To this it was answered, "Filial piety, and the distraction of the times were nothing but a colour to varnish over the lust of dominion. It was the ambition of Augustus that gained the veterans by a profusion of largesses; it was ambition that raised

“an army, when he was yet a young man, and in a private station. By bribery and corruption he seduced to himself the forces of the consuls. To the friends of Pompey’s party he wore a mask, affecting republican principles: he deceived the senate; and by an extorted decree possessed himself of the fasces, and the prætorian authority. How long did the consuls Hirtius and Pansa survive that event? They were both cut off. Did they fall by the hand of the enemy? Who can be certain that Pansa did not die by poison infused into his wound, and Hirtius by the treachery of his own soldiers? If that was their fate, is it clear that Augustus was not an actor in that scene of iniquity? That he put himself at the head of both their armies, is a fact well known. Having extorted the consulship from a reluctant senate, he threw off the mask, and turned against the commonwealth the arms which had been entrusted to him in the cause of liberty against Marc Antony. What shall be said of the fury of proscriptions? He seized the lands of Roman citizens, and divided them among his creatures. These were acts of violence, to this hour unjustified even by those who advised the measure.

“To atone for the death of a father, Brutus and Cassius fell a sacrifice: so far, perhaps, may be allowed; but whether that deadly feud, when the good of the commonwealth required it, might not have been to his immortal honour, appeased in silence, may still be made a question. Be it as it may, the younger Pompey was ruined by an insidious peace, and Lepidus was undone by treachery. Marc Antony relied upon the treaties of Tarentum and Brundisium: he went further; he married the sister of Augustus; and, in consequence of that insidious alliance, lost his life. Peace, it is true, was soon after established: but what kind of peace? The slaughter of Lollius and Varus stained it in Germany; and the massacre of the Varros, the Egnatii, and the Julii, made Rome a theatre of blood.”

From the public conduct of Augustus, a transition was made to his domestic character. “Livia was

“ taken by force from Tiberius Nero, her lawful husband; she was then advanced in her pregnancy: whether in that condition she was under a legal disability to contract a second marriage, was indeed referred to the pontifical college; but that very reference was a mockery, that turned all religion to a jest. His two favourites, Quintus Tadius and Vedius Pollio, were distinguished by nothing but riot and debauchery. To crown the whole, Livia ruled him with unbounded sway; to the commonwealth a fatal empress, and to the Cæsarian family, a pernicious step-mother. The honours due to the gods were no longer sacred; Augustus claimed equal worship. Temples were built, and statues were erected to him: a mortal man was adored, and priests and pontiffs were appointed to pay him impious homage. In calling Tiberius to the succession, he neither acted from the motives of private affection, nor of regard for the public welfare. He knew the arrogance and innate cruelty of the man, and from the contrast hoped to derive new lustre on himself.” That he knew the inward frame and cast of Tiberius, appears from a fact that happened a few years before. The business of granting to that prince a renewal of the tribunitian power, was depending in the senate. Augustus, in his speech upon that occasion, made honourable mention of him; but, at the same time, threw out oblique reflections on his conduct, his deportment, and his manners. With affected tenderness he seemed willing to palliate all defects; but the malice of the apology wounded the deeper.

XI. The rites of sepulture being performed, a temple and religious worship were decreed to the memory of Augustus. The senate now turned their supplications to Tiberius. A direct answer could not be drawn from him. “ He talked of the magnitude and the weight of empire; he distrusted his own abilities: the comprehensive mind of Augustus was, indeed, equal to the charge; but for himself, called as he had been by that emperor to a share in the administration, he knew by experience, that, to direct the affairs of a great nation, was to be in a state of

“painful pre-eminence, exposed to danger, and subject to the vicissitudes of fortune. In a city so well provided with men of illustrious character, was it adviseable to confide the whole to a single ruler? The several departments of public business would be better filled by a coalition of the best and ablest citizens.” In this strain Tiberius delivered himself, with dignity of sentiment, it is true, but nothing from the heart. A profound master of dissimulation, he had from nature, or the force of habit, the art of being dark and unintelligible. Even upon occasions when duplicity was useless, he spoke in short and broken hints, the sense suspended, mysterious, and indecisive. Intending at present to conceal his sentiments, he was of course more involved than ever. The senators, dreading nothing so much as the crime of knowing his character, broke out in a strain of supplication; they melted into tears; they poured forth entreaties; with uplifted hands they looked to the gods; they turned to the statue of Augustus, and at times fell prostrate at the knees of Tiberius. Thus surrounded he called for a state-paper, and ordered it to be read. It set forth an estimate of the empire and its resources, the number of citizens, the allies of Rome, an account of the naval strength, the names of the conquered kingdoms and provinces; the subsidies, tributes, and the amount of the revenue, with the necessary disbursements of government, and the demands for secret service. The whole was in the hand-writing of Augustus. It concluded with his advice, never to aim at an extension of empire: an important rule of policy; but was it the result of wisdom? or did he view with a malignant eye the fame that might accrue to his successor?

XII. The senate still continuing, with prostrate servility, to press their suit, Tiberius let fall an expression, intimating that though unequal to the whole, he was willing to undertake any part that might be committed to his care. Inform us, Cæsar, said Asinius Gallus, what part do you choose? Disconcerted by so unexpected a question, Tiberius paused for a moment; but soon collecting himself, “To choose,” he

said, "or to decline any part, would ill become the man who wished to be dispensed with altogether." Gallus saw displeasure working in his countenance. With quickness and presence of mind he made answer, "The question was not put with intent to divide what in its nature is united and indivisible. I appealed to your own feelings. I wished to draw from you a confession, that the commonwealth, being one body politic, requires one mind to direct it." To this he added a panegyric on the character of Augustus; he expatiated on the victories obtained by Tiberius, and the civil employments which he had filled, with honour to himself, during a series of years. But this soothing strain had no effect. The resentment of Tiberius was not to be pacified. Asinius Gallus had married Vipsania, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa, after her divorce from Tiberius. By that connexion he seemed to aspire above the rank of a citizen; and the spirit of his father, Asinius Pollio, was still living in the son.

XIII. Lucius Arruntius delivered his sentiments, nearly the same as Gallus had offered, and in like manner gave offence. Tiberius harboured in his breast no lurking sentiment to Arruntius; but he was jealous of a man, whom he saw flourishing in opulence, an ardent spirit, possessed of talents, and high in the esteem of the public. Augustus, moreover, in a conversation not long before his death, talking of the succession to the imperial dignity, distinguished three several classes; in the first, he placed such as were worthy, but would decline the honour; in the second, men of ambition, but of inferior talents; in the last, such as had genius to plan, and courage to undertake. Marcus Lepidus, he said, was every way qualified, but unwilling; Asinius Gallus had more ambition than merit; Lucius Arruntius was not only equal to the task, but, if occasion offered, would show a spirit of enterprise. Of this anecdote, with regard to the two first, no doubt remains; but instead of Arruntius, Cneius Piso, by some writers, is said to have been named. Except Lepidus, they were afterwards all cut off for constructive crimes, artfully laid

to their charge by Tiberius. In the course of their debate, Quintus Haterius and Mamercus Scaurus had the misfortune to alarm that gloomy and suspicious temper: the first, by asking. "How long is it your pleasure, Cæsar, that the commonwealth shall want a head to direct it?" Scaurus, by saying, "Since the prince has not interposed the tribunitian authority to prevent the report of the consuls, there is room to hope that he will yield to the entreaties of the senate." Tiberius took fire at what was said by Haterius, and broke out with sudden vehemence: to Scaurus he made no reply; resentment had taken root in his heart, and for that reason was smothered in silence.

Fatigued at length by the clamours of the senate, and the solicitation of individuals, he gave way by degrees: not expressly declaring his consent; but, as he said, to end the mutual trouble of repeated refusals and unwearied importunity. It may be related as a fact, that Haterius, on the following day, attending at the palace, to mitigate resentment by an apology, narrowly escaped being put to death by the guards. In a suppliant posture he clasped the emperor's knees; and in that moment Tiberius, entangled perhaps by the petitioner, or making a false step, fell to the ground. This provoked the soldiers upon duty. Haterius was saved from their fury: but the danger that threatened a man of his illustrious character, made no impression on the prince; nor did he relent till Livia exerted all her power and influence. Tiberius yielded at length to the solicitations of his mother.

XIV. The senate, at their next meeting, began to offer the incense of adulation to Livia. It was proposed to confer upon her the title of PARENT; that name was thought too general; the more distinctive appellation of MOTHER OF HER COUNTRY was moved as an amendment. It was further proposed, with the general concurrence, that to the name of the Emperor should be added, THE SON OF JULIA. Tiberius opposed these several motions; honours, he said, ought not to be lavished on women; in what regarded his

own rank, he was determined to act with the strictest self-denial. This had the appearance of moderation, but envy was the source. By the honours intended to his mother, he thought his own glory might be eclipsed, and, in that spirit, prevented a decree, by which a lictor was ordered to attend her; nor would he suffer an altar to be raised on account of her adoption into the Julian family. Other marks of distinction were proposed, and rejected. Germanicus was more favourably treated: for him Tiberius desired the rank of proconsul. Special messengers were sent to invest him with his honours, and at the same time to condole with him on the loss of Augustus. Drusus was then at Rome; and, being consul designed, in his favour nothing new was demanded. By virtue of the imperial prerogative, twelve candidates were named for the prætorship. That number had been settled by Augustus; and though the senate entreated Tiberius to enlarge the list, he bound himself by an oath never to exceed the line already drawn.

XV. The right of electing magistrates, by public suffrage, in the Field of Mars, was now, for the first time, taken from the people at large, and vested in the senate. The will of the prince had, before that time, great influence in all elections; but parties were formed among the tribes, and sometimes with success. To this encroachment the people made no opposition; they saw their rights taken from them; they grumbled and submitted. The senators were pleased with the change. They were now delivered from the necessity of humiliating condescensions in the course of their canvass, and from the heavy expense of bribery and corruption. The moderation of Tiberius was a further circumstance in favour of the measure; four candidates of his nomination were implicitly to be chosen, without intrigue or contention; and the prince, content with that number, promised not to stretch his prerogative. The tribunes of the people applied for leave to celebrate, at their own expense, the games newly instituted in honour of Augustus, and ordered to be added to the calendar, under the title of the Augustan Games. A decree passed; but the expense

was to issue out of the treasury. The tribunes were allowed to preside in the Circus, dressed in triumphal robes, but the pomp of splendid chariots was expressly denied. The annual celebration of those games was afterwards transferred, from the tribunes, to that particular prætor who has jurisdiction in all causes between strangers and the citizens of Rome.

XVI. Such was the situation of affairs at Rome, when a fierce and violent mutiny broke out among the legions in Pannonia. For this insurrection there was no other motive than the licentious spirit, which is apt to show itself in the beginning of a new reign, and the hope of private advantage in the distractions of a civil war. A summer-camp had been formed for three legions, under the command of Julius Blæsus. The death of Augustus, and the accession of Tiberius, being known to the army, the general granted a suspension of military duty, as an interval of grief or joy. The soldiers grew wanton in idleness; dissensions spread amongst them; the vile and profligate had their circular audiences; sloth and pleasure prevailed; and all were willing to exchange a life of toil and discipline, for repose and luxury. There happened to be in the camp a busy incendiary, by name Percennius, formerly a leader of theatrical factions, and now a common soldier; a man fluent in words, and by his early habits versed in the art of exciting tumult and sedition. Over the weak and ignorant, and such as felt their minds alarmed with doubts and fears about the future condition of the service, this pragmatistical fellow began to exert his influence. In the dead of night he mixed in cabals; and never failed at the close of day, when the sober and well disposed retired to their tents, to draw together the idle and most abandoned. Having gained a number of proselytes, he stood forth the orator of sedition, and harangued his confederates in the following manner:

XVII. "How long, my fellow soldiers, must we obey a small and despicable set of centurions? how long continue slaves to a wretched band of military tribunes? If we mean to redress our grievances,

“ what time so fit as the present, when the new emperor is not yet settled on the throne? Relief may now be obtained either by remonstrances, or sword in hand. By our passive spirit we have suffered enough; we have been slaves in thirty or forty campaigns; we are grown gray in the service, worn out with infirmities, and covered with wounds. In that condition we are still condemned to the toils of war. Even the men who have obtained their discharge, still follow the standard under the name of veterans: another word for protracted misery. A few, indeed, by their bodily vigour have surmounted all their labours; but what is their reward? They are sent to distant regions; and, under colour of an allotment of lands, they are settled on a barren mountain, or a swampy fen. War of itself is a state of the vilest drudgery, without an adequate compensation. The life and limb of a soldier are valued at ten pence a day: out of that wretched pittance he must find his clothing, his tent equipage, and his arms; with that fund, he must bribe the centurion: with that, must purchase occasional exemptions from service; and, with that, must pay for a remission of punishment. But blows and stripes from our officers, wounds from the enemy, intense cold in winter, and the fatigue of summer-campaigns; destructive war, in which every thing is hazarded, and peace, by which nothing is gained, are all the soldier's portion.

“ For these evils there is but one remedy left. Let us fix the conditions of our service: let every soldier receive a denarius a day, and at the end of sixteen years let him be entitled to his dismissal: beyond that term no further service. Without detaining any man whatever, and without forcing him to follow the colours as a veteran, let every soldier receive the arrears that may be due to him; let him be paid in ready money on the spot, and in the very camp where he signalized his valour. The prætorian cohorts receive two denarii for their daily pay; at the end of sixteen years they return to their families: and is superior merit the ground of this dis-

"tinction? do they encounter greater dangers? it is theirs to mount guard within the city, and the service may be honourable; but it is our lot to serve amidst savage nations, in a state of perpetual warfare. If we look out of our tents, the barbarians are in view."

XVIII. This speech was received with acclamations. Various passions heaved in every breast. Some presented their bodies seamed with stripes; others pointed to their heads grown gray in the service; numbers showed their tattered clothing, and their persons almost naked. At length the frenzy of the malcontents knew no bounds. Their first design was to incorporate the three legions into one; but which should give its name to the united body, was the question; mutual jealousy put an end to the project. Another scheme took place; the eagles of the three legions, with the colours of the cohorts, were crowded together without preference or distinction. They threw up sods of earth, and began to raise a tribunal. Amidst the tumult Blæsus arrived: he called aloud to all; he laid hold of individuals: he offered himself to their swords; and "Here," he said, "behold your victim; imbrue your hands in the blood of your general. Murder is a crime less horrible than treason to your prince. I will either live to command the legions entrusted to me: or, if you are determined to revolt, despatch me first; that, when this frenzy is over, you may wake to shame, to horror, and remorse."

XIX. The work of raising a tribunal, in spite of all his efforts, still went on. Heaps of turf were thrown up, and rose breast-high. Conquered at length by the perseverance of their general, the mutineers desisted. Blæsus exerted all his eloquence; "Sedition and revolt," he said, "could not serve their cause: the remonstrances of the army ought to be conveyed to the ear of the prince with respect and deference. The demands which they now made were of the first impression, unknown to former armies, and with the deified Augustus never attempted. In the present juncture, when the prince was new to the cares of government, was that a time to add to

“his solicitude by tumult and insurrection? If they
“would still persist in the season of profound peace,
“to urge a claim never demanded even by the con-
“querors in a civil war, why incur the guilt of rebel-
“lion? why, in violation of all military discipline,
“urge their pretensions sword in hand? They might
“depute their agents to treat with the prince; and, in
“the presence of their general, they might give their
“instructions on the spot.” This proposal was ac-
cepted; with one voice they called out for the son of
Blæsus, then a military tribune. The young officer
undertook the charge. His directions were to insist
that, at the expiration of sixteen years, the soldier
should be discharged from the service. That point
settled, it would then be time to enumerate other
grievances. With this commission the general’s son
went forward on his journey. A calm succeeded, and
lasted for some days. But the minds of the soldiers
were still in agitation: their pride was roused; the ge-
neral’s son was now the orator of the army; and force,
it was manifest, had at length extorted, what by gen-
tle measures could never be obtained.

XX. Meanwhile, the detached companies which be-
fore the disturbance had been sent to Nauportum to
repair the roads, the bridges, and other military works,
having heard of the commotions in the camp, seized
the colours; and, after ravaging the adjacent villages,
plundered Nauportum, a place little inferior to a mu-
nicipal town. They treated the centurions with de-
rision; from derision they proceeded to opprobrious
language; and, in the end, to blows and open violence.
Aufidenus Rufus, the præfect of the camp, was the
chief object of their fury: they dragged him out of his
carriage; and, laying a heavy load on his back,
obliged him to march in the foremost ranks, asking
him with contemptuous insolence how he liked his
burden, and the length of his journey? Rufus had
risen from a common man to the rank of centurion,
and was afterwards made præfect of the camp. In
that station he endeavoured to recall the rigour of
ancient discipline. A veteran in the service, and long
inured to fatigue, he was strict and rigorous in his

duty, expecting from others what he had practised himself.

XXI. The return of this tumultuous body renewed the troubles of the camp. The soldiers, without control, issued out of the lines and pillaged the country round. Some, more heavily loaded with booty than their comrades, were apprehended by the orders of Blæsus; and after receiving due correction, thrown into prison, as an example to the rest. The authority of the general was still in force with the centurions, and such of the common men as retained a sense of their duty. The delinquents, however, refused to submit; they were dragged along, resisting with all their strength; they clasped the knees of the multitude round them; they called upon their fellow soldiers by name; they implored the protection of the company to which they belonged; they invoked the cohorts and the legions, crying out to all, that the same lot would shortly be their portion. Against their general they omitted nothing that calumny could suggest; they appealed to heaven; they implored the gods; they tried, by every topic, to excite compassion, to inflame resentment, to awaken terror, and rouse the men to acts of violence. A general insurrection followed: the soldiers in a body rushed to the prison, burst the gates, unchained the prisoners, and associated with themselves the vilest of the army, a band of deserters, and a desperate crew of malefactors, then under condemnation for the enormity of their crimes.

XXII. The flame of discord raged with redoubled fury. New leaders joined the mutiny. Amidst the crowd, one of the common soldiers, a fellow known by the name of Vibulenus, mounted on the shoulders of his comrades before the tribunal of Blæsus, and addressed the multitude, all wild with fury, and eager to hear the language of sedition. "My friends," said he, "you have bravely interposed to save the lives of these innocent, these much injured men. You have restored them to new life. But who will restore my brother? who will give him to my arms? Sent hither from the German army, in concert with you to settle measures for our common safety, he

“was last night basely murdered by the hand of gladiators whom Blæsus arms for your destruction. Answer me, Blæsus, where have you bestowed the body? The very enemy allows the rites of sepulture. When I have washed my brother with the tears, and printed kisses on his mangled body, then plunge your poniard in this wretched bosom. I shall die content, if these my fellow soldiers perform the last funeral office, and bury in one grave two wretched victims, who knew no crime but that of serving the common interest of the legion.”

XXIII. This speech Vibulenus rendered still more inflammatory by the vehemence of his manner, by beating his breast, by striking his forehead, and pouring a flood of tears. A way being opened through the crowd, he leaped from the men's shoulders, and grovelling at the feet of individuals, excited the passions of the multitude to the highest pitch of frenzy. In their fury some fell upon the gladiators retained by Blæsus, and loaded them with irons; others seized the general's domestic train; while numbers dispersed themselves on every side in quest of the body: and if it had not been speedily known that no corpse could be found; that the slaves of Blæsus averred under the torture that no murder had been committed; and, in fact, that the incendiary never had a brother, Blæsus must have fallen a sacrifice. The tribunes, and the præfect of the camp, were obliged to save themselves by flight. Their baggage was seized and plundered. Lucilius the centurion was put to death. This man, by the sarcastic pleasantry of the soldiers, had been nicknamed GIVE ME ANOTHER; because, in chastising the soldiers, when one rod was broke, he was used to call for ANOTHER, and then ANOTHER. The rest of the centurions lay concealed in lurking places. Out of the whole number Julius Clemens, a man of prompt and busy talents, was the favourite of the insurgents. He was spared as a fit person to negotiate the claims of the army. Two of the legions, the eighth and fifteenth, were upon the point of coming to the decision of the sword: the former bent on the destruction of Sirpicus, a centurion; and the latter determined to

protect him. The quarrel would have laid a scene of blood, if the soldiers of the ninth legion had not, by entreaty, or by menacing the obstinate, appeased the fury of both parties.

XXIV. When the account of these transactions reached Tiberius, that abstruse and gloomy temper, which loved to brood in secret over all untoward events, was so deeply affected, that he resolved, without delay, to despatch his son Drusus, with others of high rank, and two prætorian cohorts, to quell the insurrection. In their instructions no decisive orders were given; they were left to act as emergencies might require. To the cohorts was added a select detachment, with a party of the prætorian horse, and the flower of the Germans, at that time the body-guard of the emperor. In the train which accompanied Drusus, Elius Sejanus was appointed, by his counsels to guide the inexperience of the prince. Sejanus, at that time in a joint commission with his father Strabo, had the command of the prætorian bands, and stood high in favour with Tiberius: the army would of course consider him as the fountain of rewards and punishments. As soon as they approached the camp, the discontented legions, by way of doing honour to Drusus, advanced to meet him; not, indeed, with colours displayed, as is usual on such occasions; but with a deep and solemn silence, their dress neglected, and their whole appearance uncouth and sordid. In their looks was seen an air of dejection, and at the same time a sullen gloom, that plainly showed a spirit of mutiny still working in their heart.

XXV. Drusus was no sooner within the intrenchments, than the malcontents secured the gates. Sentinels were posted at different stations, while the rest in a body gathered round the tribunal. Drusus stood in act to speak, with his hand commanding silence. The soldiers felt a variety of contending passions: they looked around, and viewing their numbers, grew fierce at the sight: they rent the air with shouts and were covered with confusion. An indistinct and hollow murmur was heard; a general uproar followed;

and soon afterwards a deep and awful silence. The behaviour of the men varied with their passions; by turns inflamed with rage, or depressed with fear. Drusus seized this moment, and read his father's letter, in substance stating, that Tiberius had nothing so much at heart as the interest of the gallant legions with whom he had served in so many wars. As soon as his grief for the loss of Augustus allowed him leisure, it was his intention to refer the case of the army to the wisdom of the senate. In the mean time, he sent his son to grant all the relief that could then be applied. Ulterior demands he reserved for the deliberation of the fathers: to enforce authority, or to relax it, was the lawful right of that assembly; and the senate, beyond all doubt, would distribute rewards and punishments with equal justice.

XXVI. The soldiers made answer, that they had appointed Julius Clemens to speak in their behalf. That officer claimed a right of dismissal from the service, at the end of sixteen years; all arrears then to be discharged: in the mean time a denarius to be the soldier's daily pay; and the practice of detaining the men beyond the period of their service, under the name of veterans, to be abolished forever. In a business of so much moment, Drusus observed, that the senate and the emperor must be consulted: a general clamour followed. "Why did he come so far, since he had no authority to augment their pay, or to mitigate their sufferings? The power of doing good was not confided to him; while every petty officer inflicted blows, and stripes, and even death. It had been formerly the policy of Tiberius to elude the claims of the army, by taking shelter under the name of Augustus; and now Drusus comes to play the same farce. How long were they to be amused by the visits of the emperor's son? Could that be deemed an equitable government, that kept nothing in suspense but the good of the army? When the soldier is to be punished, or a battle to be fought, why not consult the senate? According to the present system, reward is to be always a subject of reference, while punishment is instant and without appeal."

XXVII. The soldiers, in a tumultuous body, rushed from the tribunal, breathing vengeance, and, wherever they met either the men belonging to the prætorian bands, or the friends of Drusus, threatening violence, in hopes of ending the dispute by a sudden conflict. Cneius Lentulus, whose age and military character gave him considerable weight, was particularly obnoxious; he was supposed to be the chief adviser of Drusus, and an enemy to the proceedings of the army. For the security of his person, he went aside with Drusus, intending to repair to the winter camp. The mutineers gathered round him, demanding with insolence, "which way was he going? to the senate? perhaps to the emperor? Was he there to show himself an enemy to the demands of the legions?" Nothing could restrain their fury; they discharged a volley of stones; and one of them taking place, Lentulus, wounded and covered with blood, had nothing to expect but instant death, when the guards that attended Drusus came up in time, and rescued him from destruction.

XXVIII. The night that followed seemed big with some fatal disaster, when an unexpected phenomenon put an end to the commotion. In a clear and serene sky the moon was suddenly eclipsed. This appearance, in its natural cause not understood by the soldiers, was deemed a prognostic denouncing the fate of the army. The planet, in its languishing state, represented the condition of the legions: if it recovered its former lustre, the efforts of the men would be crowned with success. To assist the moon in her labours, the air resounded with the clangour of brazen instruments, with the sound of trumpets, and other warlike music. The crowd, in the mean time, stood at gaze: every gleam of light inspired the men with joy; and the sudden gloom depressed their hearts with grief. The clouds condensed, and the moon was supposed to be lost in utter darkness. A melancholy horror seized the multitude; and melancholy is sure to engender superstition. A religious panic spread through the army. The appearance in the heavens foretold eternal labour to the legions; and all la-

mented that by their crimes they had called down upon themselves the indignation of the gods. Drusus took advantage of the moment. The opportunity was the effect of chance; but, rightly managed, might conduce to the wisest purpose.

He gave orders that the men who by honest means were most in credit with the malcontents, should go round from tent to tent. Among these was Clemens, the centurion. They visited every part of the camp; they applied to the guards on duty; they conversed with the patrole, and mixed with the sentinels at the gates. They allured some by promises, and by terror subdued the spirit of others. "How long shall we besiege the son of the emperor? Where will this confusion end? Must we follow Percennius and Vibulenus? And shall we swear fidelity to those new commanders? Will their funds supply the pay of the legions? Have they lands to assign to the veteran soldier? For them shall the Neros and the Drusi be deposed? Are they to mount the vacant throne, the future sovereigns of Rome? Let us, since we were the last to enter into rebellion, be the first to expiate our guilt by well-timed repentance. Demands in favour of all, proceed but slowly; to individuals, indulgence is more easily granted; deserve it separately, and the reward will follow." This reasoning had its effect: suspicion and mutual distrust began to take place; the new raised soldiers went apart from the veterans; the legions separated; a sense of duty revived in the breast of all; the gates were no longer guarded; and the colours, at first promiscuously crowded together, were restored to their proper station.

XXIX. At the return of day, Drusus called an assembly of the soldiers. Though unused to public speaking, he delivered himself with the eloquence of a man who felt his own importance, and the dignity of his rank. He condemned the past, and applauded the present. It was not, he said, a part of his character to yield to menaces, or to shrink from danger. If he saw them penitent, if he heard the language of remorse, he would make a report in their favour, and

dispose his father to listen to their petition. The soldiers answered in humble terms: at their request, the younger Blæsus, mentioned above, with Lucius Apronius, a Roman knight in the train of Drusus, and Justus Catonius, a centurion of the first rank, were despatched as the delegates of the army. In the councils afterwards held by Drusus, various opinions were entertained, and different measures proposed. To wait the return of the deputies, and meanwhile to win the affections of the men by moderation, was the advice of many. Others were for immediate coercion: "Lenity, they said, makes no impression on the vulgar mind. The common men, when not kept in subjection, are fierce and turbulent; yet ever ready to crouch and bend under proper authority. It was now the time, while they were overwhelmed with superstition, to infuse another fear, and teach them to respect their general. The authors of the late sedition ought to be made a public example." Drusus, by the bent of his nature prone to vindictive measures, desired that Percennius and Vibulenus might be brought before him. By his orders they were put to death; according to some writers, in his own tent, and there buried; according to others, their bodies were thrown over the intrenchments, a spectacle for public view.

XXX. Diligent search was made for the most active incendiaries: Some were found roving on the outside of the lines, and instantly cut off by the centurions, or the prætorian soldiers. Others were delivered up to justice by their respective companies, as an earnest of their own conversion. The rigour of the winter, which set in earlier than usual, added to the afflictions of the army. Heavy rains ensued; and fell with such violence, that the men could not venture from their tents. To meet in parties, and converse with their comrades, was impossible. The colours, borne down by torrents that rushed through the camp, were with difficulty secured. Superstition still continued to fill the mind with terror. In every thing that happened, imagination saw the anger of the gods: it was not without reason that the planets

suffered an eclipse, and storms and tempests burst from the angry elements. The guilt of the army was the cause of all. To avert impending vengeance, the only expedient was to depart at once from a vile, inauspicious camp, the scene of so many crimes, and, by due atonement, expiate their past offences in their winter quarters. In this persuasion the eighth legion departed; the fifteenth followed; while the ninth remained behind, declaring aloud that they would wait for orders from Tiberius: but they soon saw themselves deserted, and therefore struck their tents, willing to do by choice what in a little time would be an act of necessity. Peace and good order being thus restored, Drusus judged it unnecessary to wait till the return of the deputies, and immediately set off for Rome.

XXXI. About the same time, and from the same causes, another sedition broke out among the legions in Germany, supported by greater numbers, and every way more alarming. The leaders of the mutiny flattered themselves that Germanicus, impatient of a new master, would resign himself to the will of the legions, and in that case they had no doubt but that every thing would fall before him. Two armies in that juncture were formed on the banks of the Rhine; one in Upper Germany, commanded by Caius Silius; the other in Lower Germany under Aulus Cæcina. Both were subordinate to Germanicus, the commander in chief, who was then in Gaul, holding the assembly of the states, and collecting the revenues of that nation. The forces under Silius had not as yet revolted: undecided, wavering, and cautious, they judged it prudent to wait the issue of the mutiny begun by others. In Cæcina's camp on the Lower Rhine the flame of discord was kindled to the utmost fury. The one-and-twentieth and fifth legions began the insurrection; the first and the twentieth followed their example: they were all stationed together in a summer camp on the confines of the Ubians. The campaign was inactive; and as the calls of duty were slight, the time of course was passed in repose and indolence.

New levies from Rome, the refuse of that city, had

lately joined the army. Upon the first intelligence of the death of Augustus, these men, long addicted to licentiousness, and averse from labour, began to practise upon the ruder minds of their fellow soldiers. The time, they said, was come, when the veterans might claim their dismissal from the service; when the young soldier might augment his pay; when the army in general might redress their grievances, and retaliate the cruelty of the centurions. It was not, as in Pannonia, a single Percennius that inflamed the mutiny; nor were these arguments urged to men who saw on every side of them superior armies, and of course trembled while they mediated a revolt. There were numbers of busy incendiaries, and many mouths to bawl sedition. Their doctrine was, that the fate of Rome was in their hands; by their victories the empire flourished; by their valour Germany was subdued; and from the country which they had conquered, the emperors of Rome were proud to derive a title to adorn their names.

XXXII. Cæcina saw the danger, but made no effort to suppress it. The malcontents were numerous, and their frenzy above all control; insomuch that the general no longer retained his usual firmness. The tumult broke out at once: the soldiers fell upon the centurions, the old and lasting cause of military discontent, and in every insurrection the first to fall a sacrifice. They seized their victims, and without mercy dashed them on the ground; in every legion the centurions amounted to sixty; an equal number fell on each of them. The soldiers laid on with their cudgels; they wounded, maimed, and mangled their devoted officers; and, to complete their vengeance, cast them dead, or ready to expire, over the intrenchments. Numbers were thrown into the Rhine. One in particular, by name Septimius, fled to the tribunal; and clasping the knees of his general, hoped there to find a sanctuary. The soldiers demanded him with contumacy, and Cæcina was obliged to give him to their fury. Cassius Chærea the same who afterwards immortalized his name by the death of Caligula, was

then a centurion, in the vigour of youth, and of a spirit to face every danger. He made head against all assailants, and sword in hand cut his way through their thickest ranks. From this time all was uproar and wild commotion. No tribune gave orders, no præfect of the camp was heard. The leaders of the mutiny appointed sentinels; they stationed the night watch, and gave directions as emergencies required. One mind inspired the whole body; and this circumstance, in the judgment of those who best knew the temper of the army, was the sure sign of a faction not easy to be quelled. In separate bodies nothing was done; no single incendiary took upon him to direct; together they set up a general shout, and together all were silent. Every thing moved in concert, and even anarchy had the appearance of regular discipline.

XXXIII. Meanwhile Germanicus, engaged, as has been mentioned, with the states of Gaul, received advice that Augustus was no more. He had married Agrippina, the grand-daughter of that emperor, and by her had several children. Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, was his father, and of course Livia was his grand-mother. Thus descended, and thus allied, he lived in perpetual anxiety. The sullen aversion of his uncle, and the secret malice of Livia, embittered his days. The hatred with which they pursued him was unjust; and, for that reason, unrelenting. The fact is, Drusus was the delight of the Roman people; they cherished his memory; persuaded that, if the sovereign power had devolved on him, the old republic would have been restored. At his death, the affections of mankind were transferred to his son. From similar virtues the same conduct was expected. Possessed of popular talents, affable and obliging to all, Germanicus presented a strong contrast to the harsh temper and clouded aspect of Tiberius. The jealousies that subsisted between the women, added fuel to the flame; Livia beheld the wife of Germanicus with the malice of a step-mother; and, in return, Agrippina resented every thing with sensibility, perhaps with indignation. But the tenderness of her affection

for her husband softened her fiercer passions, and gave a tincture of delicacy to that haughty spirit which nothing could subdue.

XXXIV. Germanicus was now advanced nearer to the imperial dignity; but his zeal for Tiberius rose in proportion. He required from the Sequanians and the Belgic states the oath of fidelity to the emperor; and being informed of the commotions that distracted the army, he set forward, without delay, to appease the tumult. The legions met him on the outside of the intrenchments, with downcast eyes, and all the external symptoms of repentance. He was, however, no sooner within the lines, than the camp resounded with groans and bitter lamentations. Some laid hold of the prince's hand, as if going to kiss it; but inserting his fingers in their mouths, made him feel their boneless gums, complaining that they had lost their teeth in the service: others showed their bodies bent with age, and drooping under a load of infirmities. A tumultuous crowd gathered round the tribunal: Germanicus ordered them to form in their respective companies, that the men might more distinctly hear his answer; and, to distinguish the cohorts, he directed the standards to be ranged in proper order. The soldiers obeyed, but with reluctance. Germanicus opened with the panegyric of Augustus; he proceeded to the victories and triumphs obtained by Tiberius, insisting chiefly on his exploits in Germany, at the head of those very legions. The succession, he observed, was quietly settled: Italy consented, both the Gauls remained in their duty, and peace prevailed in every part of the empire.

XXXV. Thus far Germanicus was heard with silence, or at worst with a low and hollow murmur. He made a transition to the present disturbances: "Where is now the sense of military duty? Where that ancient discipline, the boast and honour of the Roman armies? Whither have you driven the tribunes? Where are the centurions?" At these words, the whole multitude, as if with one instinct, threw off their clothes, exposing their bodies seamed with wounds from the enemy, and with lashes from the centurion.

A general outcry followed. They complained of the price exacted for relaxations of duty; they mentioned the miserable pittance which they received for their daily pay; they set forth their various hardships, and in particular their unremitting labour at the intrenchments, the fatigue of carrying provisions, wood, and forage, with a detail of other employments, sometimes imposed by necessity, and frequently to prevent idleness in the camp. The clamour of the veterans was outrageous; they had served thirty years and more, and when were they to expect a cessation of misery? They desired a retreat for old age, that they might not languish in despair, and wait till the hand of death released them from their troubles. Some demanded immediate payment of the legacies bequeathed by Augustus. They offered up ardent vows for the success of Germanicus; assuring him, if he wished to seize the sovereign power, that they were to a man devoted to his service.

Struck with horror, and dreading the contagion of so foul a crime, Germanicus leaped from the tribunal. The soldiers sword in hand opposed his passage, and even threatened violence if he did not return. The prince was resolved to perish, rather than forfeit his honour. He drew his sword, and pointed it to his breast, ready to plunge it to his heart. The people near him stopped his hand; but the crowd at a distance, and even some who dared to advance, had the insolence to bid him strike: one in particular, by name Calusidius, presented a naked sword, adding at the same time, *Take this; it is sharper than your own.* This behaviour, even in the moment of frenzy, appeared to the soldiers an atrocious act. A pause ensued. The friends of Germanicus seized the opportunity, and conveyed him to his tent.

XXXVI. A Council was immediately called. It was well known that the insurgents were preparing a deputation to the army on the Upper Rhine, in order to engage them in the revolt, and make it a common cause. The city of the Ubians was devoted to destruction. From the pillage of that place, the plan of the mutineers was to proceed to greater lengths,

and carry desolation into the provinces of Gaul. The Germans, at the same time, knew the dissensions of the Roman army; and, if the Rhine were once abandoned, stood in readiness to seize so advantageous a post. The moment was full of perplexity. To employ the auxiliary forces and the states in alliance with Rome against the revolted legions, were to engage in a civil war. To proceed with rigour might be dangerous; and to pacify the men with largesses, were an expedient altogether dishonourable. Grant all or nothing, the dilemma was either way big with mischief. After mature deliberation, letters were framed in the name of Tiberius, importing, that at the end of twenty years the soldier should be entitled to his dismissal; that, after sixteen, he should be deemed a veteran, still retained in the service, but exempt from all duty, except that of repelling the incursions of the enemy. A promise was added, that the legacies given by Augustus should not only be paid, but increased to double the amount.

XXXVII. The forgery was suspected by the soldiers. They saw that the letter was an expedient to gain time. They demanded immediate compliance, and accordingly dismissions from the service were made out by the tribunes. The payment of the money was deferred till the legions arrived in their winter quarters. The fifth and one-and-twentieth refused to stir from the camp, till Germanicus, with his own finances and the assistance of his friends, made up the sum required. The first and twentieth legions, under the command of Cæcina, proceeded towards the city of the Ubians; exhibiting, as they marched, a shameful spectacle, while they carried, amidst the colours and the Roman eagles, the treasure extorted from their general. Germanicus proceeded with expedition to the army on the Upper Rhine, and there required the oath of fidelity to the emperor. The second, the thirteenth, and sixteenth legions complied without hesitation. The fourteenth stood for some time in suspense. They made no demand; but Germanicus ordered dismissions from the service to be

made out for the veterans, and their money to be forthwith discharged.

XXXVIII. Meanwhile a party of veterans belonging to the legions lately in commotion, but at that time stationed in the territory of the Chaucians, discovered the same spirit of disaffection; but the firmness of Mennius, the præfect of the camp, suppressed the mischief in its birth. He ordered two of the ringleaders to be seized, and put to death; an act of severity not strictly legal, but in some degree justified by necessity. He was obliged, however, to seek his safety by flight. The soldiers pursued him. Being detected in his lurking-place, he resolved, to face his enemies, and depend upon his own bravery. "It is not," he said, "against me, the præfect of the camp, that this outrage is committed; it is treachery to Germanicus; it is treason to the emperor." The leaders of the mutiny were struck with terror. In that moment he seized the standard, and turning towards the river, declared, in a peremptory tone, that whoever quitted his rank should suffer as a deserter. The whole body marched into winter quarters, murmuring discontent, but not daring to disobey.

XXXIX. During these transactions, the deputies of the senate met Germanicus at the Ubian altar, on his return from the Upper Rhine. Two legions, the first and twentieth, were stationed at that place in winter quarters; and, with them, the veterans lately appointed to follow the colours. To minds in their condition, fluctuating between fear and conscious guilt, every circumstance was a new alarm. The deputies they were sure, came with instructions to revoke and cancel the terms which violence had extorted. The credulity of the common people never works by halves; they believe without proof, and soon find the author of what never happened. Munatius Plancus, a senator of consular rank, and a principal person in the embassy, was named as the framer of a decree, that never existed but in the imagination of the soldiers. In the dead of the night they rushed in a body, to the head quarters of Germanicus, demanding, with

rage and violence, the purple standard which was there deposited. They broke open the doors; they forced their way into the house; and, dragging their general out of his bed, with menaces of instant death compelled him to surrender the standard. Flushed with this exploit, they ran wild through the streets; and meeting the deputies, then on their way to join the prince, they poured forth a torrent of opprobrious language, and threatened a general massacre.

Plancus was the first object of their fury. That illustrious citizen could not, without dishonour to his character, shrink back from a tumultuous rabble: he was, however, compelled to take refuge in the camp of the first legion. He there embraced the colours; and, laying hold of the eagles, thought himself protected by the gods of the army. But even that sanctuary was no longer a place of shelter; the soldiers forgot the religion of the camp; and if Calpurnius, the eagle-bearer, had not made a stout resistance, a deed of horror, unheard of even among barbarians, had been impiously perpetrated; and the blood of a Roman ambassador, in a Roman camp, had stained the altar of the gods. At the return of day, when the general, the men, and the actions of all might be clearly distinguished, Germanicus entered the camp. He ordered Plancus to be conducted to his presence, and seated him near himself on the tribunal. He complained of the distractions of the time; but imputed what had happened not so much to the madness of the soldiers, as to the vengeance of the gods. He explained the nature of the deputation from the senate; he stated the rights of ambassadors; he painted forth, in pathetic terms, the indignity offered to a man of such high consideration as Plancus; and lamented the disgrace that befel the legion. The soldiers heard him like men astonished, but not convinced. Germanicus thought proper to dismiss the deputies; but, to guard their persons, ordered a detachment of the auxiliary horse to escort them.

XL. The conduct of Germanicus was censured by many of his friends. "Why did he not withdraw to the army on the Upper Rhine? Discipline was there

"in force, and with proper assistance the mutiny might have been crushed at once. By dismissions from the service, by largesses, and other feeble measures, the disturbances were too much encouraged. If the general set no value on his own life, why neglect the safety of his infant son? Why hazard among lawless men, who had violated every sacred right, an affectionate wife, at that time far advanced in her pregnancy? Those tender pledges were the property of the state, and should be restored to the emperor and the commonwealth." Germanicus yielded to these remonstrances; but the consent of Agrippina was still to be obtained. Descended from Augustus she insisted that the grand-daughter of that emperor had not so far degenerated, as to shrink from danger. Germanicus continued to urge his request; he melted into tears; he clasped her in his arms; he embraced her infant son, and at length prevailed. A procession of disconsolate women moved slowly on; and with them the wife of the commander in chief, compelled to be a wanderer, with her infant son in her arms. A band of wretched women, driven forth from their husbands, attended in her train. Amongst those whom they left behind, the scene of distress was not less affecting.

XLI. The camp presented a mournful spectacle. Instead of a Roman general at the head of his legions, instead of Germanicus in all the pomp and pride of authority, the face of things resembled a city taken by storm. Nothing was heard but shrieks and lamentations. The soldiers listened; they came forth from their tents; they stood astonished at the sight and, "Why," they said, "wherefore those notes of sorrow? What means that mournful spectacle? A train of noble matrons deserted, left to themselves, abandoned by all! no centurion, not so much as a soldier, to accompany them! The wife of the general, undistinguished in the crowd, without a guard, and without the train of attendants suited to her rank, proceeding on her way towards the people of Treves, to seek in a foreign state that protection, which was denied her in a Roman camp!" To these reflections

shame and remorse succeeded, and every breast was touched with sympathy. All lamented the condition of Agrippina. They called to mind the splendour of her father Agrippa; they recollected the majesty of Augustus, her grand-father; they remembered Drusus, her father-in-law: her own personal accomplishments, her numerous issue, and her virtue, endeared her to the army. Her son, they said, was a native of the camp; he was educated in the tents of the legions; and surnamed CALIGULA, from the boots so called, which, to win the affections of the soldiers, he wore in common with the meanest of the army. Amidst these reflections, the honour intended for the people of Treves made the deepest impression. Stung by that idea, they pressed forward to Agrippina; they entreated her to stay; they opposed her passage; they ran in crowds to Germanicus, imploring him not to let her depart. The prince, still warm with mixed emotions of grief and indignation, addressed them in the following manner:

XLII. "My wife and child are ever dear to me, but
"no more so than my father and the commonwealth.
"But the emperor will be safe in his own imperial
"dignity, and the commonwealth has other armies to
"fight her battles. For my wife and children, if from
"their destruction you might derive additional glory,
"I could yield them up a sacrifice in such a cause: at
"present, I remove them from the rage of frantic men.
"If horrors are still to multiply, let my blood glut
"your fury. The great-grandson of Augustus, and
"the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, need not be left to
"fill the measure of your iniquity. Without that
"horrible catastrophe the scene of guilt may end.
"But let me ask you, in these last few days what
"have you not attempted? What have you left un-
"violated? By what name shall I now address you?
"Shall I call you soldiers? Soldiers! who have dared
"to besiege the son of your emperor! who have made
"him a prisoner in his own intrenchments! Can I
"call you citizens? Citizens! who have trampled un-
"der your feet the authority of the senate; who have
"violated the most awful sanctions, even those which

“hostile states have ever held in respect, the rights
“of ambassadors, and the law of nations!

“Julius Cæsar by a single word was able to quell
“a mutiny: he spoke to the men who resisted his
“authority; he called them Romans, and they became
“his soldiers. Augustus showed himself to the le-
“gions that fought at Actium, and the majesty of his
“countenance awed them into obedience. The dis-
“tance between myself and those illustrious charac-
“ters, I know is great; and yet, descended from them,
“with their blood in my veins, I should resent with
“indignation a parallel outrage from the soldiers of
“Syria, or of Spain: and will you, ye men of the
“first legion, who received your colours from the
“hand of Tiberius; and you, ye men of the twentieth,
“his fellow warriors in the field, his companions in
“so many victories, will you thus requite him for all
“the favours so graciously bestowed upon you? From
“every other quarter of the empire Tiberius has re-
“ceived nothing but joyful tidings: and must I wound
“his ear with the news of your revolt? Must he hear
“from me, that neither the soldiers raised by myself,
“nor the veterans who fought under him, are willing
“to own his authority? Must he be told that neither
“dismissions from the service, nor money lavishly
“granted, can appease the fury of ungrateful men?
“Must I inform him, that here the centurions are
“murdered; that, in this camp, the tribunes are
“driven from their post; that here the ambassadors
“of Rome are detained as prisoners? That the in-
“trenchments present a scene of slaughter; that rivers
“are discoloured with our blood? and that a Roman
“general leads a precarious life, at the mercy of men
“inflamed with epidemic madness?

XLIII. “Why, the other day, when I endeavoured
“to address you, why was the sword which I aimed
“at my breast, why in that moment was it wrested
“from me? Oh? my mistaken friends! The man who
“presented his sword, dealt more kindly by me. I
“could then have closed my eyes in peace. I should
“not have lived to see the disgrace of the legions,
“and all the horrors that followed. After my death,

“you would have chosen another general, regardless
“indeed of my unhappy lot, but still of spirit to re-
“venge the massacre of Varus and his three legions.
“May that revenge be still reserved for the Roman
“sword; and may the gods withhold from the Belgic
“states, though now they court the opportunity, the
“vast renown of vindicating the Roman name, and
“humbling the pride of the German nations! and
“may thy departed spirit, adored Augustus! who
“now art ranked among the gods; and may thy image,
“Drusus, my ever honoured father! may thy me-
“mory inspire these unhappy men, whom I now see
“touched with remorse! May your active energy
“blot out the disgrace that sits heavy upon them;
“and may the rage of civil discord discharge itself
“on the enemies of Rome! And you, my fellow-sol-
“diers! whom I behold with altered looks, whose
“hearts begin to melt with sorrow and repentance, if
“you mean to preserve the ambassadors of the senate;
“if you intend to remain faithful to your prince, and
“to restore my wife and children; detach yourselves
“at once from the contagion of guilty men; withdraw
“from the seditious: that act will be a proof of your
“remorse, an earnest of returning virtue.”

XLIV. The soldiers were appeased by this ha-
rangue. They acknowledged their guilt, and the
justice of the reproof. In a suppliant tone they en-
treated Germanicus to select for punishment the most
obnoxious; to pardon the weakness of men drawn
into error, and lead them against the enemy. They
requested that his wife might be recalled; and that
his son, the darling of the camp; might not be sent a
hostage to the states of Gaul. Agrippina being then
advanced in her pregnancy, and the winter season
approaching, Germanicus judged it best to let her
proceed on her journey. His son, he said, should once
more appear amongst them. What remained to be
done he left to themselves.

The soldiers were now incited by new sentiments
and passions, unfelt before: they seized the ringleaders
of the sedition, and delivered them, loaded with irons,

to Caius Citronius, who commanded the first legion. By that officer the delinquents were brought to immediate justice. The form of proceeding was as follows: The legions under arms were ranged round the tribunal: the criminal was set up to public view; if the general voice pronounced him guilty, he was thrown headlong down, and put to instant death. In this mode of punishment the soldier concurred with ardour; by shedding the blood of others, he thought his own guilt was expiated. The measure, however violent, received no check from Germanicus. What was done had no sanction from his orders. The cruelty began with the soldiers, and by consequence could be imputed to no one else. The veterans followed the example, and in a few days afterwards were ordered to march into Rhætia, under colour of defending the province from the inroads of the Suevians; but in truth, to remove them from a camp polluted by rebellion, and in the end made savage by the horror of military execution. A strict review of the centurions was the first care of Germanicus. They were all cited before him; each in person gave in his name, his rank, the place of his birth, the length of his services, the actions in which he had distinguished himself, and the military honours which he had obtained. If the tribunes, or the legion in general, reported in his favour, he preserved his station; if taxed by the general voice with avarice or cruelty, he was discharged from the service.

XLV. Order and tranquillity were in this manner restored; but at the distance of sixty miles, at a place called *Vetera*, riot and disorder still subsisted. The fifth and twenty-first legions were there in winter quarters. In the late commotions these men were the first and most active incendiaries. The worst and blackest crimes were by them committed; and now, when the storm was in appearance over, they still retained their former ferocity, unreclaimed by the penitence of others, and undismayed by the fate of those who had suffered death. To meet this new alarm, Germanicus resolved to equip his fleet; and with the

auxiliary forces to sail down the Rhine, in order, if the mutiny still subsisted, to crush it at once by force of arms.

XLVI. At Rome, in the mean time, where the issue of the commotions in Illyricum was yet unknown, advice was received of the disorders that broke out in Germany. The city was thrown into consternation. All exclaimed against the conduct of Tiberius. "To amuse the senate and the people, both helpless, void of spirit, and disarmed, was the sole drift of the emperor. The flame of discord was in the mean time kindled up by the distant armies; and two young men who had neither experience, nor sufficient authority, were sent in vain to quell the insurrection. Why did not Tiberius set out in person upon the first alarm? The occasion called for his presence. At sight of him, who had gained renown in war, and was moreover the fountain of rewards and punishments, the malecontents would have laid down their arms. Augustus, though in the decline of life, could make a progress into Germany; and shall Tiberius, in the vigour of his days, content himself with the vain parade of attending the senate, there to amuse himself with petty disputes, to cavil about words, and wrangle with the fathers? Enough was done at Rome to establish his system of slavery, and despotic power. Measures should now be taken to curb the spirit of the legions, and teach them to endure the leisure of repose."

XLVII. Tiberius heard the murmurs of discontent, but remained inflexible. To keep possession of the capital, and neither hazard his own safety, nor that of the empire, was his fixed resolution. A crowd of reflections filled him with anxiety. The German army was superior in strength; that in Pannonia was the nearest: the former had great resources in Gaul, and Italy lay open to the latter. To which should he give the preference? If he visited one, the other might take umbrage. By sending his sons, he held the balance even, and neither could be jealous. It was besides his maxim, that the imperial dignity should not

be suffered to tarnish in the eye of the public. What is seen at a distance, is most respected. If Drusus and Germanicus reserved some points for the consideration of their father, the inexperience of youth would be a sufficient apology. Should the mutineers persist with obstinacy, there would still be time for the prince to interpose, and either by rigour, or conciliating measures, to restore the ancient discipline. If he went in person, and the insurgents spurned his authority, what resource was left?—These considerations had their weight; and yet, to have the appearance of being willing to face his armies was part of his policy. He played this game so well, that he seemed every day upon the point of leaving Rome. He settled his train of attendants, ordered his camp equipage, equipped his fleets; still contriving, by specious pretences, to give a colour to delay. The winter season, he said, was near at hand, and the weight of affairs at Rome claimed his attention. The most discerning were for some time the dupes of his dissimulation. The people were much longer amused, and the provinces were the last to see through the delusion.

XLVIII. Germanicus in the mean time was ready, with his collected force, to act against the rebel legions. He was willing, notwithstanding, to suspend his operations, till time should show whether the late example had wrought the minds of the soldiers to submission, and a due sense of their duty. With this intent, he sent despatches to Cæcina, to inform that officer, that he was advancing at the head of a powerful army; resolved, if justice was not previously executed, to put the whole body to the sword. Cæcina communicated, in a confidential manner, his secret instructions to the standard-bearers, to the inferior officers, and such of the private men as were known to be well affected. He recommended to them to avert the danger that hung over the legions, and in good time to secure their lives. In times of peace, he said, there is always leisure to investigate the truth, and separate the man of merit from the turbulent and se-

ditionous: but war knows no distinction of cases; the innocent and the guilty fall in one promiscuous carnage.

The officers, thus instructed, sounded the common men; and finding the greatest part well affected, agreed, at an hour approved of by Cæcina, to fall with sudden fury upon the leaders of the mutiny. Having concerted their measures, at a signal given they began the attack. They rushed sword in hand into the tents, and without mercy butchered their comrades, who little thought they were so near their end. A dreadful slaughter followed; no cause assigned, and no explanation given. Except the authors of the measure, no man knew from what motive the assault proceeded, or where it would end.

XLIX. In the civil wars recorded in history, we nowhere find a scene of horror like the present. No battle was fought; there was no assault from an adverse camp: in the same tents where the day saw them eat their meal in peace, and the night laid them down to rest, comrades divide against their fellows; darts and javelins are thrown with sudden fury; uproar and confusion follow; shouts and dying groans resound throughout the camp: a scene of blood is laid; wretches expire, and the reason remains unknown. The event is left to chance. Men of worth and honour perished in the fray; for the guilty, finding themselves the devoted objects, snatched up their arms, and joined the better cause. Cæcina remained a tame spectator; no officer, no tribune attempted to stop the wild commotion. The fury of the soldiers had its free career; and vengeance rioted in blood, even to satiety. Germanicus in a short time after entered the camp. He saw a tragic spectacle; and, with tears in his eyes, called it a massacre, not an act of justice. He ordered the dead bodies to be burnt. The fury of the soldiers had not yet subsided: in the agitation of their minds they desired to be led against the enemy, in order to expiate by the blood of the barbarians the desolation they had made. The shades of their slaughtered friends could not be otherwise appeased: when their breasts were gashed with

honourable wounds, atonement would then be made. Germanicus embraced the opportunity; and throwing a bridge over the river, advanced with an army of twelve thousand legionary soldiers, six-and-twenty cohorts of the allies, and eight squadrons of horse; all free from disaffection, and during the late commotions strict observers of discipline.

L. The Germans, posted at a small distance, exulted in full security. They saw with pleasure the cessation of arms, occasioned by the death of Augustus; and the revolt of the legions inspired them with fresh courage. The Romans, by a forced march, passed the Cæsian forest; and having levelled part of the rampart formerly begun by Tiberius, pitched their tents on the spot. In the front and rear of the camp, they threw up intrenchments. The flanks were fortified with a pile of trees, hewn down for the purpose. Their way from that place lay through a gloomy forest: but of two roads, which was most eligible, was matter of doubt; whether the shortest and most frequented, or another more difficult, and seldom attempted, but for that reason unsuspected by the enemy. The longest road was preferred. The army pushed on with vigour. The scouts had brought intelligence that the approaching night was a festival, to be celebrated by the barbarians with joy and revelry. In consequence of this information, Cæcina had orders to advance with the light cohorts, and clear a passage through the woods. The legions followed at a moderate distance. The brightness of the night favoured their design. They arrived, with rapid expedition, at the villages of the Marsians, and without delay formed a chain of posts, to inclose the enemy on every side. The barbarians were sunk in sleep and wine, some stretched on the beds, others at full length under the tables; all in full security, without a guard, without posts, and without a sentinel on duty. No appearance of war was seen; nor could that be called a peace, which was only the effect of savage riot, the languor of a debauch.

LI. Germanicus, to spread the slaughter as wide as possible, divided his men into four battalions. The

country, fifty miles round, was laid waste with fire and sword; no compassion for sex or age; no distinction of places, holy or profane; nothing was sacred. In the general ruin the Temple of Tanfan, which was held by the inhabitants in the highest veneration, was levelled to the ground. Dreadful as the slaughter was, it did not cost a drop of Roman blood. Not so much as a wound was received. The attack was made on the barbarians sunk in sleep, dispersed in flight, unarmed, and incapable of resistance. An account of the massacre soon reached the Bructerians, the Tubantes, and the Usipetes. Inflamed with resentment, those nations took up arms; and posting themselves to advantage, surrounded the woods through which the Roman army was to pass. Germanicus, informed of their motions, marched in order of battle. Part of the cavalry, with the light cohorts, formed the van; the first legion followed, to support them; the baggage moved in the centre. The left wing was closed by the twenty-first legion, and the right by the fifth. The twentieth, with the auxiliaries, brought up the rear. The Germans, in close ambush, waited till the army stretched into the woods. After skirmishing with the advanced party, and both the flanks, they fell with their whole strength upon the rear. The light cohorts, unable to sustain the shock of a close embodied enemy, were thrown into disorder; when Germanicus, riding at full speed to the twentieth legion, cried aloud, "The time is come when you may efface, by one brave exploit, the guilt of the late sedition; charge with courage, and you gain immortal honour." Roused by this animating strain, the legion rushed to the attack, and at the first onset broke the ranks of the enemy. The barbarians fled to the open plain: the Romans pursued them with dreadful slaughter. Meanwhile the van of the army passed the limits of the forest, and began to throw up intrenchments. From that time the march was unmolested. The soldiers, flushed with success, and in the glory of this expedition losing all memory of former guilt, were sent into winter quarters.

LII. An account of these events arriving at Rome, Tiberius was variously affected. He received a degree of pleasure, but it was a pleasure mingled with anxiety. That the troubles in the camp were at an end, he heard with satisfaction: but he saw, with a jealous spirit, that by largesses, and dismissions from the service, Germanicus had gained the affections of the legions. The glory of his arms was another circumstance that touched him nearly. He though fit, notwithstanding, to lay the whole account before the senate. He expatiated at large in praise of Germanicus, but in terms of studied ostentation, too elaborate to be thought sincere. Of Drusus, and the issue of the troubles in Illyricum, he spoke with more reserve; concise, yet not without energy. The concessions made by Germanicus to the legions on the Rhine, were ratified in every article, and at the same time extended to the army in Pannonia.

LIII. In the course of the year died Julia, the daughter of Augustus. On account of her lascivious pleasures, she had been formerly banished by her father to the Isle of Pandataria, and afterward to Rhegium, a city on the streights of Sicily. During the life of her sons Caius and Lucius, she became the wife of Tiberius, and by the haughtiness of her carriage made him feel that she thought him beneath her rank. The arrogance of her behaviour was the secret and most powerful motive for the retreat, which that prince made to the Isle of Rhodes. At his accession to the empire, when he was master of the Roman world, he saw her in a state of destitution, banished, covered with infamy, and, after the murder of Agrippa Posthumus, without a ray of hope to comfort her. Yet this could not appease the malice of Tiberius. He ordered her to be starved to death; concluding that, after a tedious exile at a place remote, a lingering death in want and misery, would pass unnoticed.

From the same root of bitterness sprung the cruelty with which he persecuted Sempronius Gracchus; a man descended from a noble family, possessed of talents, and adorned with eloquence, but eloquence viciously applied. By his wit and rare accomplishments

he seduced the affections of Julia, even in the lifetime of her husband Agrippa. Nor did his passions stop there: when she was afterwards married to Tiberius, he was still a persevering adulterer, and by secret artifices poisoned the mind of the wife against her husband. The letter to Augustus, in which she treated the character of Tiberius with contempt, was generally thought to be his composition. For these offences he was banished to Cercina, an island on the coast of Africa, where he passed fourteen years in exile. Soldiers at length were sent to put an end to his days. The assassins found him on the point of a prominent neck of land, with a countenance fixed in sorrow and despair. As soon as the ruffians approached, he desired a short delay, that he might write the sentiments of a dying man to his wife Alliaria. Having despatched that business, he presented his neck to the murderers' stroke: in his last moments worthy of the Sempsonian name. His life was a series of degenerate actions. The assassins, according to some historians, were not hired at Rome, but sent from Africa by the proconsul Lucius Asprenas, at the instigation of Tiberius, who hoped to throw from himself the load of guilt, and fix it on his tools of power. The artifice did not succeed.

LIV. In the course of this year was formed a new institution of religious rites. In honour of Augustus a list of priests was added to the sacerdotal college, in imitation of the order founded in ancient times by Titus Tatius, to perpetuate the religious ceremonies of the Sabines. To create this new sodality, the names of the most eminent citizens, to the number of one-and-twenty, were drawn by lot; and Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus were added. It happened, however, that the games performed this year in honour of Augustus, were disturbed by violent factions among the players. In compliance with the wishes of Mæcenas, that passionate admirer of Bathyllus the comedian, Augustus had always favoured the exhibition of pantomimes. He had himself a taste for those amusements; and by mixing with the diversions of the multitude, he thought he showed a

popular condescension. Tiberius was of a different character: but the minds of men, softened by luxury, and during a long reign dissolved in pleasure, could not easily conform to that austerity, which suited the rigid temper of the prince.

LV. In the consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Caius Norbanus, a triumph was decreed to Germanicus, though the war was not yet brought to a conclusion. The prince had concerted his plan of operations for the ensuing summer; but he thought proper, early in the spring, to open the campaign, by a sudden irruption into the territories of the Cattians; a people distracted among themselves by the opposite factions of Arminius and Segestes; the former famous for his treachery to the Romans, and the latter for unshaken fidelity. Arminius was the common disturber of Germany; Segestes, on the other hand, had given repeated proofs of his pacific temper. When measures were taken for a general insurrection, he discovered the conspiracy; and during the banquet which preceded the massacre of Varus, he proposed that he himself, Arminius, and other chiefs, should be seized, and loaded with irons. By that vigorous measure he was sure that the minds of the common people would be depressed with fear; and, having lost their chiefs, none would dare to rise in arms. The general, of course, would have leisure to discriminate the innocent from the guilty. But Varus was fated to perish, and Arminius struck the blow. In the present juncture, Segestes was compelled by the ardour of his countrymen to take up arms. He still however retained his former sentiments. He had, besides, motives of a private nature: his daughter, whom he had promised in marriage to another chief, was ravished from him by Arminius. The father and the son-in-law were by consequence inveterate enemies; and that connexion, which between persons mutually well inclined forms the tenderest friendship, served only to inflame the animosity of the two contending chiefs.

LVI. Encouraged by these dissensions, Germanicus appointed Cæcina to the command of four legions, five thousand of the allies, and the German recruits

lately raised, by hasty levies, on this side of the Rhine. He marched himself at the head of an equal legionary force, and double the number of auxiliaries. On the ruins of a fort, formerly built on Mount Taurus by his father Drusus, he raised a fortification, and proceeded by rapid marches against the Cattians. To secure his retreat, he left behind him Lucius Apronius, with orders to work at the roads, and embank the rivers. The dryness of the season, uncommon in those parts, and the low bed of waters in the rivers, favoured his expedition; but, before his return, the fall of heavy rains, and the overflow of torrents, might lay the country under water. His arrival was so little expected by the Cattians, that their women and children were either taken prisoners, or put to the sword. The young and able-bodied made their escape by swimming across the Adrana. From the opposite bank they attempted to hinder a bridge from being thrown over the river; but by a fierce discharge from the engines, and a volley of darts, they were driven from their post. They offered terms of peace, but without success. Numbers submitted at discretion: the rest abandoned their villages, and fled for shelter into the woods. The country round was laid waste; Mattium, the capital, was destroyed by fire; and the open plains were made a desert. Germanicus marched his army back towards the Rhine, the barbarians never daring to harass the rear, as is their practice, when pretending to retreat in a panic, they wheel about on a sudden, and return to the charge. The Cheruskans meditated a sudden attack in favour of the Cattians; but Cæcina, with an army of observation, spread so warm an alarm, that the enterprise was dropt. The Marsians, more bold and desperate, risked a battle, and were defeated.

LVII. Germanicus, in a short time afterwards, received a message from Segestes, imploring protection from the fury of his countrymen, who held him closely besieged. Arminius had been the adviser of the war, and was by consequence the idol of the people. In a nation of savages, the man of fierce and turbulent spirit is sure, in times of commotion to be the leading

demagogue. Among the deputies sent to Germanicus, was Segimund, the son of Segestes; a young man who, in the year famous for the revolt of Germany, was made by the Romans a priest of the Ubian altar; but soon after, fired by the zeal that roused his whole nation, he tore off his sacred vestments, and went over to his countrymen. Conscious of this offence, he hesitated for some time, willing to decline the embassy; till at length, encouraged by the fame of Roman clemency, he obeyed his father's orders. He met with a gracious reception; and, under a proper guard, was conducted in safety to the frontiers of Gaul. Germanicus thought it of moment to change his purpose, and marched back to the relief of Segestes. He no sooner appeared before the place, than the enemy was attacked and put to the rout.

Segestes was set at liberty, and with him a numerous train of relatives and faithful followers; several women of noble birth; and, in the number, the daughter of Segestes, then married to Arminius. In her deportment no trace appeared of her father's character: she breathed the spirit of her husband. Not a tear was seen to start; no supplicating tone was heard; she stood in pensive silence; her hands strained close to her bosom, and her eyes fixed upon her womb, then pregnant with the fruit of her marriage. At the same time was brought forth a load of spoils, which, in the slaughter of Varus and his legions, fell to the share of those who now surrendered to the Roman arms. What chiefly attracted every eye, was Segestes himself; his stature of superior size, and his countenance that of a man who knew neither guilt nor fear. He spoke to this effect:

LVIII. "It is not now the first time that Segestes
"has given proofs of his attachment to the cause of
"Rome. From the moment when I was enrolled a
"citizen by the deified Augustus, your interest has
"been the rule of my conduct. Your friends I em-
"braced; your enemies were mine. In acting thus, I
"have not been guilty of treason to my country. A
"traitor I know is odious, even to those who profit by
"the treason. I have been your friend, because I

“thought the interests of Germany and Rome were
“interwoven with each other; I have been your friend,
“because I preferred peace to war. Governed by
“these principles, I addressed myself to Varus, who
“commanded your armies; before his tribunal, I ex-
“hibited an accusation against Arminius, the ravisher
“of my daughter, and the violator of public treaties.
“But sloth and irresolution were the bane of that un-
“fortunate general. From laws enfeebled and relaxed
“I expected no relief. I therefore desired, earnestly
“desired, that Arminius, and the other chiefs of the
“conspiracy, might be thrown into irons. I did not
“except myself. With what zeal I pressed the mea-
“sure, witness that fatal night, which I wish had been
“my last. The horrors that followed, demand our
“tears: they cannot be justified. Soon after that
“tragic event, I confined Arminius in chains; and
“from his faction I have suffered in my turn, the
“same indignity. Admitted now to an interview with
“Germanicus, I prefer ancient friendship to new con-
“nexions; my voice is still for peace. For myself, I
“have nothing in view: my honour is dear to me,
“and I desire to repel all suspicion of perfidy. I
“would, if possible, make terms for my countrymen,
“if they can be induced to prefer a well-timed repen-
“tance to calamity and ruin. For my son, and the
“errors of his youth, I am a humble suppliant. My
“daughter, indeed, appears before you, by necessity,
“not by her own choice: I acknowledge it. It is
“yours to decide her fate; it is yours to judge which
“ought to have most influence, her husband or her
“father: she is with child by Arminius, and she sprung
“from me.” Germanicus, in his usual style of mo-
deration, assured him that his children and relations
should be protected; as to himself, he might depend
upon a safe retreat in one of the old provinces. He
then marched back to the Rhine; and there, by the
direction of Tiberius, was honoured with the title of
IMPERATOR. The wife of Arminius was delivered of
a boy, who was reared and educated at Ravenna.
The disasters which made him afterwards the sport
of fortune, shall be related in their proper place.

LIX. The surrender of Segestes, and his gracious reception from Germanicus, being in a short time spread throughout Germany, the feelings of men were various, as their inclinations happened to be for peace or war. Arminius, by nature fierce and enterprising, seeing, in this juncture, his wife for ever lost, and the child in her womb a slave before its birth, felt himself inflamed with tenfold fury. He flew round the country of the Cherusicans, spreading the flame of discord, and in every quarter rousing the people to revenge; he called aloud to arms, to arms against Segestes, to arms against the Romans. He spared no topic that could inflame resentment. "Behold," he cried, "behold in Segestes the true character of a father! in Germanicus an accomplished general! in the exploits of the Roman army, the glory of a warlike nation! with mighty numbers they have led a woman into captivity. It was not in this manner that Arminius dealt with them: three legions, and as many commanders, fell a sacrifice to my revenge. To the arts of traitors I am a stranger; I wage no war with women big with child. My enemies are worthy of a soldier; I declare open hostility, and sword in hand I meet them in the field of battle.

"Survey your religious groves: the Roman banners by me hung up, and dedicated to the gods of our country, are there displayed; they are the trophies of victory. Let Segestes fly for shelter to the Roman provinces; let him enjoy his bank on the side of Gaul; and let him there meanly crouch to make his son the priest of a foreign altar. Posterity will have reason to curse his memory; future ages will detest the man, whose crime it is, that we have seen, between the Rhine and the Elbe, rods and axes, the Roman habit, and the Roman arms. To other nations, punishments and taxes are yet unknown; they are happy, for they are ignorant of the Romans. We have bravely thrown off the yoke; we are free from burthens; and since Augustus was obliged to retreat, that very Augustus whom his countrymen have made a god; and since Tiberius,

“that upstart emperor, keeps aloof from Germany,
“shall we, who have dared nobly for our liberties,
“shrink from a boy void of experience, and an army
“ruined by their own divisions? If your country is
“dear to you, if the glory of your ancestors is near
“your hearts, if liberty is of any value, if the enjoy-
“ment of your natural rights is preferable to new
“masters, and foreign colonies, follow Arminius. I
“will marshal you the way to glory and to freedom.
“Segestes has nothing in store but infamy, chains,
“and bondage.”

LX. By these incendiary speeches all Germany was roused to action. The Cherusicans took up arms and the neighbouring states followed their example. Inguiomer, a man long known, and high in the estimation of the Romans, declared in favour of Arminius: he was uncle to that chieftain. By adopting his measures, he added strength to the confederacy. Germanicus saw the impending danger. To cause a diversion, and avoid the united strength of the enemy, he ordered Cæcina, with forty Roman cohorts, to penetrate into the territory of the Bructerians as far as the river Amisia. Pedito, at the head of the cavalry, was directed to march along the confines of the Frisians. Germanicus, with four legions, embarked on the lakes. One common place of destination was appointed: the foot, the cavalry, and the fleet, arrived in due time. The Chaucians joined the Roman army; the Bructerians set fire to their houses, and abandoned their country. Lucius Stertinius, with a detachment of the light horse, was ordered to pursue the fugitives. That officer came up with the enemy, and put the whole body to the rout. Amidst the slaughter that followed, some of the soldiers were intent on plunder. Among the spoils was found the eagle of the nineteenth legion, lost in the massacre of Varus. The army pushed on with vigour to the farthest limit of the Bructerians. - The whole country between the river Amisia and the Luppia, was made a desert. The Romans were now at a small distance from the forest of Teutoburgium, where the bones of Varus and his legions were said to be still unburied.

LXI. Touched by this affecting circumstance, Germanicus resolved to pay the last human office to the relics of that unfortunate commander, and his slaughtered soldiers. The same tender sentiment diffused itself through the army: some felt the touch of nature for their relations, others for their friends; and all lamented the disasters of war, and the wretched lot of human kind. Cæcina was sent forward to explore the woods: where the waters were out, to throw up bridges; and, by heaping loads of earth on the swampy soil, to secure a solid footing. The army marched through a gloomy solitude. The place presented an awful spectacle, and the memory of a tragical event increased the horror of the scene. The first camp of Varus appeared in view. The extent of the ground, and the three different inclosures for the eagles, still distinctly seen, left no doubt that the whole was the work of the three legions. Farther on were traced the ruins of a rampart, and the hollow of a ditch well nigh filled up. This was supposed to be the spot where the few, who escaped the general massacre, made their last effort, and perished in the attempt. The plains around were white with bones, in some places thinly scattered, in others lying in heaps, as the men happened to fall in flight, or in a body resisted to the last. Fragments of javelins, and the limbs of horses, lay scattered about the field. Human skulls were seen upon the trunks of trees. In the adjacent woods stood the savage altars where the tribunes and principal centurions were offered up a sacrifice with barbarous rites. Some of the soldiers who survived that dreadful day, and afterwards broke their chains, related circumstantially several particulars. "Here the commanders of the legions were put to the sword: on that spot the eagles were seized. There Varus received his first wound: and this is the place where he gave himself the mortal stab, and died by his own sword. Yonder mound was the tribunal from which Arminius harangued his countrymen: here he fixed his gibbets; there he dug the funeral trenches, and in that quarter he offered every mark

“ of scorn and insolence to the colours and the Roman eagles.”

LXII. Six years had elapsed since the overthrow of Varus; and now, on the same spot, the Roman army collected the bones of their slaughtered countrymen. Whether they were burying the remains of strangers, or of their own friends, no man knew: all, however, considered themselves as performing the last obsequies to their kindred, and their brother soldiers. While employed in this pious office, their hearts were torn with contending passions; by turns oppressed with grief, and burning for revenge. A monument to the memory of the dead was raised with turf. Germanicus with his own hand laid the first sod; discharging at once the tribute due to the legions, and sympathizing with the rest of the army. The whole, though an act of piety to the slain, was condemned by Tiberius. The malignity of his nature led him to misinterpret the actions of Germanicus; perhaps he was apprehensive, that the view of a field covered with the unburied limbs of a slaughtered army, might damp the ardour of the soldier, and add to the ferocity of the enemy. There might be another reason for his displeasure. Perhaps he thought that a general, invested with the office of augur, and other religious functions, ought not to assist at the performance of funeral rites.

LXIII. Germanicus pressed forward, by rapid marches, in pursuit of Arminius, who fled before him. taking advantage of the defiles, and difficult part of the country. Having overtaken the barbarians, and seeing his opportunity, he ordered the cavalry to advance on the open plain, and dislodge the enemy. Arminius drew up his men in close compacted ranks, and feigning a retreat to the forest, suddenly wheeled about; giving, at the same time, the signal to the troops that lay ambushed in the woods, to rush out, and begin the attack. The Roman cavalry, struck with surprise at the sudden appearance of a new army, were thrown into disorder. They fell back upon the cohorts sent to support them, and a general consternation followed. The barbarians pursued their ad-

vantage; and had well nigh driven the Romans into a morass, well known to themselves, but impracticable to strangers, when Germanicus came up with the legions in order of battle. At the sight of a regular force, the Germans were struck with terror. The broken ranks of the Romans had time to rally. Nothing decisive followed: Both armies parted upon equal terms: Germanicus marched back to the river Amisia, and with his legions sailed across the lakes. Part of the cavalry had orders to file along the sea-coast, and by a winding march return to the banks of the Rhine.

Cæcina, at the head of his own division, marched through a country of which he was not ignorant. He had directions to pass *the long bridges* with all possible expedition. The place so called is a narrow causeway, constructed formerly by Lucius Domitius. It stretches a great length of way between two prodigious marshes. The country round is one vast fen, in some parts covered with a deep and slimy mud, in others with a tenacious heavy clay, intersected frequently with rapid torrents. A thick forest, rising at some distance on a gradual acclivity, inclosed the whole scene, and formed a kind of amphitheatre. Arminius, who knew the course of the country, made a forced march, and took post in the woods before the Romans, encumbered with arms and heavy baggage, arrived at the place. Cæcina found a double difficulty. The bridges, ruined by time, were to be repaired; and the enemy at the same time was to be repulsed. He judged it necessary to pitch his camp; as in that situation a sufficient number might work at the causeway, while the rest were held in readiness to engage the enemy.

LXIV. The barbarians made a vigorous effort to force the outposts, and penetrate to the men working at the intrenchments. They rushed forward with impetuous fury, they wheeled about to the flanks, they returned to charge in front. A mingled shout arose from the labourers and the combatants. All things seemed to conspire against the Romans: the slimy soil, if the men stood still, sunk under them; if they

advanced, it was too slippery for their feet. The weight of the soldiers' armour, and the depth of water, made the management of the javelins almost impracticable. The Cherusicans, on the contrary, were fighting in their own element; they were used to fens and marshes; their stature was large, and their spears of a length to wound at a distance. The legions began to give way, when night came on, and put an end to the unequal conflict. The barbarians were too much flushed with success to complain of fatigue, or to think of rest. During the night they cut a channel for the waters, and from the neighbouring hills let down a deluge into the valley. The plains were laid under water; and the half-finished works being carried away by the flood, the soldier saw that his labour was to begin again. Cæcina had been forty years in the service. A man of his experience, who had known the vicissitudes of war, was not to be disconcerted. He saw, between the morass and the hills, a plain of solid ground, large enough for a small army. To that spot, having weighed all circumstances, he judged it his best expedient to send the wounded with the heavy baggage, and in the mean time to confine the Germans in their woods. For this purpose he stationed the fifth legion in the right wing, and the one-and-twentieth in the left; the first legion led the van, and the twentieth brought up the rear.

LXV. The night in both camps was busy and unquiet, but from different causes. The barbarians passed their time in jollity and carousing; warlike songs and savage howlings kept a constant uproar, while the woods and valleys rung with the hideous sound. In the Roman camp the scene was different: pale gleaming fires were seen; no sound, save that of low and hollow murmurs; the soldiers lay extended at length under the palisades, or wandered from tent to tent, fatigued and weary, yet scarce awake. Cæcina was disturbed by a terrible dream: he thought that Quintilius Varus emerged from the fens; and calling upon him to follow, waved his hand to point the way. Unwilling to obey the summons, Cæcina pushed the phantom from him. At break of day, the legions,

which had been stationed in the wings, through fear, or a spirit of mutiny, abandoned their post, and seized a piece of solid ground beyond the morass. Arminius, though the opportunity was fair, did not embrace it: but soon after, seeing the baggage fast in the mud, or in the ditches, the soldiers gathering round in tumult and disorder; the eagles in confusion; and as in such cases always happens, each man acting for himself, and deaf to the command of his officers; he ordered his men to make a vigorous onset, exclaiming, as he advanced, "Behold Varus and his legions! their fate once more has given them to our swords."

He charged at the head of a chosen band; and, by gashing and mangling the horses, made a dreadful havoc. Goaded by wounds, and not able to keep their legs on a slimy soil, which was made still more slippery by the effusion of their own blood, those animals in their fury threw their riders, overturned all in their way, and trampled under their feet the wretches that lay on the ground. The chief distress was round the eagles; to support them under a heavy volley of darts was difficult, and to fix them in the swampy ground impossible. Cæcina, exerting himself with undaunted vigour to sustain the ranks, had his horse killed under him. The barbarians were ready to surround him, if the first legion had not come up to his assistance. At length the rage for plunder, natural to savages, turned the fortune of the day. Intent on booty, the Germans desisted from the fight. The Romans seized their advantage, and towards the close of day gained a station on the solid ground. Their distress, however, was not at an end: intrenchments were to be raised; earth to be brought; their tools for digging and cutting the soil were lost; no tents for the soldiers; no medicine for the wounded: their provisions in a vile condition, deformed with filth and blood; a night big with horror hung over their heads; and the ensuing day, to a number of brave and gallant men, might prove the last. The spirit of the legions sunk, and all lamented their condition.

LXVI. It happened, in the course of the night, that a horse broke loose; and, scared by the noise of the

soldiers, ran wild through the camp, trampling down all that came in his way. This accident spread a general panic. In the first hurry of surprise, it was generally believed that the Germans had stormed the intrenchments. The soldiers rushed to the gates, chiefly to that called the *Decuman*, at the back of the camp, remote from the enemy, and the most likely to favour their escape. Cæcina knew that it was a false alarm; he tried to recal the men from their error: he commanded, he implored, he laid hold of numbers; but finding all without effect, he threw himself on the ground, and lay stretched at length across the passage. At the sight of their general in that condition, the men recoiled with horror from the outrage of trampling on his body. In that interval, the tribunes and centurions convinced the men that their fears were without foundation.

LXVII. Cæcina assembled his men in the part of the camp assigned for the eagles. Having commanded silence, he explained their situation, and the necessity that called upon them to act like men. "They had nothing to depend upon except their valour; but their valour must be cool, deliberate, guided by prudence. Let all remain within the lines, till the barbarians, in hopes of carrying the works, advance to the assault. Then will be the time to sally out. By one brave effort they might open a passage to the Rhine. If they fled, other woods, and deeper fens, remain behind; perhaps more savage enemies. By one glorious victory they were sure of gaining every advantage; honoured by their country, loved by their families, and applauded by the whole army." The bright side of the military life being thus held forth, he said nothing of the reverse. His next care was to select a body of his bravest soldiers. These he provided with horses, as well from his own retinue, as from those of the tribunes and centurions, without favour or partiality, distinguishing merit only. The men thus mounted were to make the first impression on the enemy, and the infantry had orders to support the rear.

LXVIII. The Germans, in the mean time, were no

less in agitation; their hopes of conquest, the love of plunder, and the jarring counsels of their chiefs, distracted every mind. The measure proposed by Arminius was, to let the Romans break up their camp, and surround them again in the narrow defiles, and in the bogs and marshes. Inguiomer, more fierce and violent, and for that reason more acceptable to the genius of barbarians, was for storming the camp: it would be carried by a general assault: the number of prisoners would be greater, and the booty in better condition. His advice prevailed. At the point of day the attack began; at the first onset the Germans levelled the fosse, threw in heaps of hurdles, and attempted a scalade. The ramparts were thinly manned; the soldiers, who showed themselves, put on the appearance of a panic. The barbarians climbed to the top of the works. In that moment the signal was given to the cohorts; clarions and trumpets sounded through the camp; the Romans in a body, and with one general shout, rushed on to the attack. They fell upon the enemy in the rear; crying aloud, as they advanced, "Here are no woods; no treacherous fens; we are here on equal ground, and the gods will decide between us." The barbarians had promised themselves an easy conquest. The affair, they imagined, would be with a handful of men; but their surprise rose in proportion, when they heard the clangour of trumpets, and saw the field glittering with arms. The sudden terror magnified their danger. To be elated with success, and to droop in adversity, is the genius of savage nations. A dreadful slaughter followed. The two chiefs betook themselves to flight; Arminius unhurt, and Inguiomer dangerously wounded. No quarter was given to the common men. The pursuit continued as long as day-light and resentment lasted. Night coming on, the legions returned to their camp, covered with new wounds, and their provisions no better than the day before; but health, and food, and vigour, all things were found in victory.

LXIX. Meanwhile a report was spread round the country, that the Roman army was cut to pieces, and the Germans, flushed with conquest, were pouring

down to the invasion of Gaul. The consternation was such, that numbers proposed to demolish the bridge over the Rhine. Vile as the project was, there were men who, through fear, would have been hardy enough to carry it into execution, if Agrippina had not prevented so foul a disgrace. Superior to the weakness of her sex, she took upon her, with an heroic spirit, the functions of a general officer. She attended to the wants of the men; she distributed clothes to the indigent, and medicines to the sick. Pliny has left, in his history of the wars in Germany, a description of Agrippina, at the head of the bridge, reviewing the soldiers as they returned, and with thanks and congratulations applauding their valour. This conduct alarmed the jealous temper of Tiberius: "Such active zeal," he said, "sprung from sinister motives; those popular virtues had not for their object the enemies of Rome. The soldiers were caressed for other purposes. What remained for the commander if a woman can thus unsex herself at the head of the eagles? She reviews the legions, and by largesses draws to herself the affections of the men. Was it not enough for her ambition, that she showed her son to the army, and carried him from tent to tent, in the uniform of the common soldier, with the title of Cæsar Caligula? This woman towers above the commanders of the legions, and even above their general officer. She can suppress an insurrection, though the name and majesty of the prince makes no impression." These were the reflections that planted thorns in the breast of Tiberius. By the arts of Sejanus, the malice of his heart was still more envenomed. That minister studied the character of his master. He practised on his passions, and had the skill to sow in time the seeds of hatred, which he knew would work in secret, and at a distant day break out with collected force.

LXX. Germanicus, who had sailed with the legions, thought proper to lighten his ships, in order to render them more fit for the navigation of the Northern seas, full of sand-banks, and often dangerous both at the flood and the tide of ebb. With this view, he disem-

barked the second and the fourteenth legions, and put them under the command of Publius Vitellius, with directions to pursue their way over land. Vitellius had at first a dry shore; but the wind blowing hard from the north, and the waves, usual at the equinox, rolling with a prodigious swell, the soldiers were carried away by the torrent. The country was laid under water. The sea, the shore, and the fields presented one vast expanse. The depths and shallows, the quicksands and the solid ground, were no more distinguished. The men were overwhelmed by the waves, and absorbed by the eddies. Horses, baggage, and dead bodies, were seen floating together. The companies of the legions were mixed in wild confusion, sometimes breast-high in water, and often deeper. Numbers were carried off by the flood, and lost for ever. Exhortations and mutual encouragement were of no avail. Valour and cowardice, prudence and temerity, wisdom and folly, perished without distinction. Vitellius at length gained an eminence, and drew the legions after him. The night was passed in the utmost distress; without fire, without utensils; many of the soldiers naked; the greatest part wounded, and all in a condition worse than the horrors of a siege. When the enemy is at the gates, an honourable death still remains; but here their fate was wretched and inglorious. The return of day presented a new face of things: the waters subsided, and the land appeared. The general pursued his march to the river Unsingis, where Germanicus was arrived with his fleet. The two legions were taken on board. A report of their total loss was spread far and wide, and every day gained credit, till their safe return with Germanicus proved the whole to be a false alarm.

LXXI. Meanwhile Stertinius, who had been despatched to receive the surrender of Segimer, the brother of Segestes, conducted that chief, together with his son, to the city of the Ubians. A free pardon was granted to both: to Segimer, without hesitation: to the son, who was known to have offered indignities to the body of Varus, not without some delay. Gaul, Spain, and Italy, seemed to vie with each other in

exertions to repair the losses of the army; each nation offering, according to their respective abilities, a supply of arms, of horses, and money. Germanicus thanked them for their zeal, but received arms and horses only. With his own funds he relieved the wants of the soldiers; and to obliterate, or at least soften the recollection of past misfortunes, he united with generosity the most conciliating manners. He visited the sick; he applauded their bravery; he examined their wounds; he encouraged some by promises; he roused others to a sense of glory; and in general, filled all hearts with zeal for his person and the success of his arms.

LXXII. Triumphal ornaments were this year decreed to Aulus Cæcina, Lucius Apronius, and Caius Silius, for their conduct under Germanicus. The title of *Father of his Country*, so often pressed upon him by the people, Tiberius once more declined; nor would he consent that men should be sworn on his acts though a vote for that purpose had passed the senate. For this self-denial, he alleged the instability of human affairs, and the danger of the sovereign, always growing in proportion to the eminence on which he stands. Popular as this sentiment was, no man thought it sincere. He who had lately revived, in all its rigour, the law of violated majesty, could not be considered as the friend of civil liberty. The title, indeed, of that law was known in ancient times, but the spirit of it differed from the modern practice. During the old republic, the treachery that betrayed an army, the seditious spirit that threw the state into convulsions, the corrupt administration that impaired the majesty of the Roman people, were the objects of the law. Men were arraigned for their actions, but words were free. Augustus was the first who warped the law to new devices. The licentious spirit of Cassius Severus, whose satirical pen had ridiculed the most eminent of both sexes, excited the indignation of the prince; and the pains and penalties of violated majesty were, by a forced construction, extended to defamatory libels. After his example, Tiberius, being asked by the prætor, Pompeius Macer, whether in

such prosecutions judgment should be pronounced, returned for answer, that the law must take its course. The fact was, Tiberius in his turn had felt the edge of satire in certain anonymous verses, circulated at that time, and keenly pointed at his pride, his cruelty, and his dissensions with his mother.

LXXIII. It will not be deemed an improper digression, if we state in this place the cases of two Roman knights, Falanius and Rubrius, both of narrow fortunes, and both attacked under the new mode of prosecution. A review of those proceedings will show the grievance in its origin, and its progress: how it gathered strength from the wily arts of Tiberius; from what causes it was for a time suppressed, and afterwards revived in all its force, till it proved in the end the most detestable invention that ever harassed mankind. The charge against Falanius was, that he had admitted into one of the fraternities, then established in honour of Augustus, one Cassius, a comedian of profligate manners; and further, that, in the sale of his gardens, he had suffered a statue of Augustus to be put up to auction with the rest of his goods. The crime alleged against Rubrius was, that, being sworn on the name of Augustus, he was guilty of perjury. Tiberius, as soon as he was apprized of these proceedings, wrote to the consuls—"that divine honours were not decreed to the memory of his father in order to lay snares for the people. Cassius, the player, as well as others of his profession, had often assisted in the games dedicated by Livia to the memory of the deceased emperor; and if his statue, in common with those of the gods in general, was put up to sale with the house and gardens, the interests of religion would not be hurt. A false oath on the name of Augustus was the same as a perjury in an appeal to Jupiter: but the gods must be their own avengers."

LXXIV. In a short time after this transaction Granius Marcellus, prætor of Bythynia, was accused of violated majesty by his own quæstor, Cæpio Crispinus. The charge was supported by Romanus Hispo, a mercenary advocate, who had then lately set up the

trade of an informer; that detestable trade, which, by the iniquity of the times, and the daring wickedness of the vile and profligate, became afterwards the source of wealth and splendour. Obscure and indigent, but bold and pragmatical, this man by secret informations pampered the cruelty of Tiberius, and wriggled himself into favour. By his detestable practices he became formidable to the first characters in Rome. He gained the ear of the prince, and the hatred of mankind; leaving an example, by which the whole race of his followers rose from beggary and contempt to wealth and power; till, having wrought the destruction of the most eminent citizens, they fell at last by their own pernicious arts. The accusation brought by Cæpio Crispinus, charged Marcellus with having spoken defamatory words against Tiberius. The charge was big with danger, while the accuser had the art to bring forward, from the life of the emperor, the worst of his vices; ascribing all to the malignity of Marcellus. The words were believed to be spoken, because the facts were true.

Hispo, the pleader, added, that the accused had placed his own statue higher than the Cæsars; and to a bust, from which he had struck off the head of Augustus, united that of Tiberius. The prince, who had hitherto remained silent, rose abruptly; declaring, in a tone of vehemence, that in a cause of that importance he would give his vote openly, and under the sanction of an oath. By this expedient the same obligation was to be imposed on the whole assembly. But even then, in that black period, expiring liberty showed some signs of life. Cneius Piso had the spirit to ask, "In what rank, Cæsar, do you choose to give your voice? If first, your opinion must be mine; if last, I may have the misfortune to differ from you." Tiberius felt that his warmth had transported him too far. He checked his ardour, and had the moderation to consent that Marcellus should be acquitted on the law of violated majesty. There remained behind a charge of peculation, and that was referred to the proper jurisdiction.

LXXV. The criminal proceedings before the senate

were not enough to glut the malice of Tiberius; he attended the ordinary courts of justice; taking his seat near the corner of the tribunal, that he might not displace the prætor from his curule chair. In his presence, which had the effect of controlling the intrigues of the great, several just decisions were pronounced: but even this was big with mischief; truth was served, and liberty went to ruin. Pius Aurelius, a member of the senate, complained to that assembly, that, by the making of a public road, and laying an aqueduct, the foundation of his house was ruined; he therefore prayed to be indemnified. The prætors of the treasury opposed his petition. Tiberius, however, struck with the justice of the case, paid the value of the house. The littleness of avarice was no part of his character. When fair occasions called for liberality, he was ready to open his purse; and this munificent spirit he retained for a long time, when every other virtue was extinguished. Propertius Celer, a man of prætorian family, but distressed in his circumstances, desired to abdicate his rank of senator. The state of indigence in which he lived being found to be the consequence of hereditary poverty, he received a donation of a thousand great sesterces. A number of applications of the same nature followed soon after; but Tiberius required that the allegations of each petition should be proved. The austerity of his nature mixed with his best actions a leaven of harshness, that embittered his favours. By the rigour of the prince distress was silenced: ingenuous minds chose to languish in obscurity rather than seek, by humiliating confessions, a precarious, and at best a painful, relief.

LXXVI. In the course of this year, the Tiber, swelled by continual rains, laid the level parts of the city under water. When the flood subsided, men and houses were washed away by the torrent. Asmius Gallus proposed to consult the books of the Sybils; but Tiberius, dark and abstruse in matters of religion, as well as civil business, overruled the motion. The care of preventing inundations for the future was committed to Ateius Capito and Lucius Arruntius.

The provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, being found unequal to the taxes imposed upon them, were relieved from the expense of supporting a proconsular government, and for the present transferred to the superintendence of the emperor. Drusus, in his own name, and that of his brother Germanicus, exhibited a spectacle of gladiators, and presided in person; delighted, more than became his rank, with the effusion of blood, and, by consequence, giving to the populace no favourable impression of his character. Tiberius, it is said, reproved him for his indiscretion. Why he himself did not attend the public games, various reasons were assigned. According to some, "numerous assemblies were not his taste, and crowds "fatigued him." Others ascribed it to the phlegmatic genius of the man, fond of solitude, and willing to avoid a comparison with the gracious manners of Augustus, who was always a cheerful spectator on such occasions. That he intended, with covered malice, to afford Drusus an opportunity of laying open the ferocity of his nature, and thereby giving umbrage to the people, seems rather a strained construction; yet even this was said at the time.

LXXVII. The disorders occasioned by theatrical factions in the preceding year, broke out again with increasing fury. Numbers of the common people, and even many of the soldiers, with their centurion, exerting themselves to quell the tumult, and defend the magistrate, were killed in the fray. A tribune of the prætorian guard was wounded on the occasion. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate. The fathers were on the point of passing a vote, investing the prætor with authority to order the players to be publicly whipped. This was opposed by Haterius Agrippa, a tribune of the people, who by his speech drew upon himself a sharp reply from Asinius Gallus. Tiberius with a deep reserve listened to the debate. To see the senators amusing themselves with a show of liberty, filled him with secret satisfaction. The motion, however, passed in the negative. The authority of Augustus, who had formerly decided that players were not liable to that mode of punish-

ment, had great weight with the fathers; and what was established by that prince, Tiberius would not presume to alter. To fix the salary of the players at a certain sum, and to repress the zeal of their partisans, several decrees were passed: the most material were, "That no senator should enter the house of a pantomime performer: that the Roman knights should not attend the players in the street; no exhibition to be presented in any place except the theatre; and all who engaged in riots were liable to be banished by the sentence of the prætor."

LXXVIII. In consequence of a petition from Spain, leave was given to erect a temple to Augustus in the colony of Terragon. By this decree a precedent was held forth to all the provinces. The people of Rome presented a petition, praying that the payment of the hundredth part, which was a tax on all vendible commodities, imposed since the close of the civil wars, might be remitted for the future. Tiberius declared, by public edict, "That the support of the army depended upon that fund; and even with those resources the commonwealth was unequal to the charge, unless the veterans were retained in the service for the full term of twenty years." By this artful stroke, the regulations limiting the time to sixteen years, which had been extorted during the sedition in Germany, were in effect repealed, and rendered void for the future.

LXXIX. A project to prevent inundations, by giving a new course to the lakes and rivers that empty themselves into the Tiber, was proposed to the senate by Lucius Arruntius and Attcius Capito. The municipal towns and colonies were heard in opposition to the measure. The Florentines stated, "That if the Clanis were diverted from its channel, and made to flow by a new course into the Arno, their whole country would be ruined." The inhabitants of Interamna made the like objection; contending that "if the Nar, according to the plan proposed, were divided into various rivulets, the most fertile plains in Italy would be no better than a barren waste." Nor did the people of Reaté remain silent: they re-

monstrated that "if the communication, by which the
"lake Velinus fell into the Nar, were obstructed, the
"adjacent country would be laid under water. Na-
"ture had wisely provided for the interests of man;
"it was she that assigned to rivers their fountain-
"head, their proper channel, and their influx into the
"sea. Besides this, the religion of the allies of Rome
"claimed respect. Considering the rivers of their
"country as under the patronage of tutelary gods,
"they had in various places established forms of
"worship, and dedicated their priests, their altars,
"and their sacred groves. The Tiber too, deprived of
"his tributary waters, would be reduced, not without
"indignation, to an inglorious stream." Convinced by
this reasoning, or deterred by the difficulty of the
undertaking, perhaps influenced by superstitious mo-
tives, the senate went over to the opinion of Piso,
who declared against all innovation.

LXXX. The government of Mæsia was continued
to Poppæus Sabinus, with the superadded provinces
of Achaia and Macedonia. In the character of Tibe-
rius it was a peculiar feature, that he was ever un-
willing to remove men from their employments.
Hence the same person remained for life at the head
of the same army, or in the government of the same
province. For this conduct different reasons have
been assigned. By some we are told that he hated
the pain of thinking; and, to avoid further solicitude,
the choice which he once made, was decided for life.
Others will have it, that the malignity of his nature
was the secret motive of a man, who did not wish to
see too many made happy by his favours. The pro-
blem was solved by others in a different way. His
discernment, they observe, was quick and penetrating;
but his judgment slow and anxious. He thought with
subtlety, and refined till he embarrassed himself; and
though he never was the patron of virtue, he de-
tested vice. Superior merit made him tremble for
himself, and he thought bad men a disgrace to the
age. In this manner divided between opposite ex-
tremes, thinking without decision, and reasoning but
to hesitate, he has been known to appoint to the

government of provinces, men, whom he never suffered to depart from Rome.

LXXXI. Of the consular elections, either in this year, or during the rest of his reign, nothing can be said with precision. His own speeches, as well as the historians of the time, are so much at variance, that nothing like system can be traced. We see the emperor, in some instances, holding the name of the candidate in reserve, yet by an account of his birth, his public conduct, and his military services, pointing directly to the man. At other times he refuses even that satisfaction, content with general directions to the candidates, not to embroil the election by intrigue or bribery, but to leave the whole to his management. His custom in general was to profess, that he knew no candidates but those, whose names he had transmitted to the consuls; others, he said, were free to offer themselves, if, from their merit or their interest, they conceived hopes of success. With speeches of this nature, plausible indeed, but unsubstantial, the people were amused. A show of liberty was held forth, fair in appearance, but deceitful, and, for that reason, tending to plunge mankind in deeper servitude.

THE
ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK II.

I. DURING the consulship of Sisenna Statilius Taurus and Lucius Libo, the oriental kingdoms, and, by consequence, the Roman provinces were thrown into commotion. The flame of discord was lighted up among the Parthians. That restless people had sued for a king at the hands of Rome; and after acknowledging his title, as a descendant from the line of the Arsacides, began with their natural levity to despise him, as an alien to the crown. Vonones was the name of this unpopular prince: he had been formerly sent by his father Phraates as an hostage to Augustus. The Eastern monarch made head against the armies of Rome, and had driven her generals out of his dominions; but he endeavoured, notwithstanding, by every mark of respect, to conciliate the friendship of Augustus. As a pledge of sincerity, he went the length of delivering up to the custody of the Romans even his own children, not so much with a design to avert the terror of their arms, as from want of confidence in the fidelity of his own subjects.

II. After the death of Phraates, and the kings who succeeded him, the leading men of the nation, tired of civil slaughter, sent Ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to invite Vonones, the eldest son of Phraates, to the throne of his ancestors. A nation ready to receive a sovereign from the will of Augustus, presented to that emperor a scene truly magnificent. He despatched Vonones, richly loaded with presents. The barbarians, pleased, as is their custom, with the opening of a new reign, received the prince with all demonstrations of joy. But disaffection soon took place;

they repented of their choice, and saw, with regret, the disgrace which their tame submission had brought upon their country. "The Parthians," they said, "were a degenerate race, who meanly stooped to sue in another world, and invited to reign over them an exotic king, trained up by the Romans, fraught with their maxims, and tainted by their manners. The kingdom of the Arsacides was at length reduced to a Roman province, to be dealt out at the pleasure of the emperor. Where now the glory of those gallant heroes who put Crassus to death, and made Marc Antony fly before them? The slave of Cæsar, who crouched so many years in bondage, gives the law to the Parthians." Such were the prejudices of the people. The conduct of Vonones inflamed their indignation. He renounced the manners of his country; was rarely seen in the sports of the chase; he took no delight in horsemanship, and in his progress through the kingdom lolled at ease in a litter. He disdained, with fastidious pride, to have his table served agreeably to the national taste; his train of Greek attendants gave disgust; and the paltry attention, that secured the most trifling articles under a seal, excited the contempt and ridicule of the people. To be easy of access, was want of dignity; and courteous manners degraded the prince. Virtues new to the Parthians were new vices. Between his good and evil qualities no distinction was made: they were foreign manners, and for that reason detested.

III. In this disposition of the public mind, the crown was offered to Artabanus, a descendant of Arsaces, educated among the Dahi. This prince, after a defeat in his first engagement, reinforced his army, and gained possession of the crown. Vonones fled to Armenia, where, in that juncture, the throne was vacant; but an irresolute and wavering people could form no settled plan. They turned their thoughts first to Rome, and next to the Parthians, acting with alternate treachery to both. The insidious conduct of Marc Antony, who allured their king Artavasdes to his friendship, then loaded him with chains, and basely murdered him, was fresh in their minds. Ar-

taxias, the son of that unfortunate prince, conceived from that tragic event a rooted aversion to the Roman name. He ascended the throne his father, and with the assistance of the Parthians stood at bay with Rome, till he fell at last by the perfidy of his own relations. After his death, Tigranes, by the appointment of Augustus, was raised to the throne. Tiberius Nero, at the head of a powerful army, conducted him to the capital of his dominions. The reign of this prince was short. His issue succeeded; but the line became extinct, notwithstanding the intermarriages of brother and sister, allowed by the policy of eastern nations, to strengthen the royal line. By order of Augustus, Artavasdes succeeded. To support his cause, Rome exerted her strength, and spilt the blood of her armies, but without success. The new king was driven from the throne.

IV. In that juncture, Caius Cæsar was sent to compose the troubles in Armenia. With the consent of the people that young commander placed the crown on the head of Ariobarzanes, by birth a Mede, distinguished by his rare accomplishments, and his graceful figure. After the death of this prince, who lost his life by an accident, the people refused obedience to his descendants. A woman of the name of Erato succeeded: but a female reign did not last long. From that time the nation continued in a state of anarchy, without a master, yet not in possession of liberty. It was in this posture of affairs that Vonones entered Armenia. The people received him with open arms. Artabanus, in the mean time, threatened to invade the kingdom. The Armenians were not in force; and Rome, without undertaking an expensive war against the Parthians, could not espouse their cause. Vonones fled for shelter to Creticus Silanus, the governor of Syria. That officer promised his protection; but afterwards thought proper to secure the person of the prince, leaving him, under a strong guard, to enjoy the title of king, and the parade of royalty. The efforts which Vonones made to escape from this mock-dignity, shall be related in due time.

V. Tiberius, with his usual phlegm, saw the storm

gathering in the East. Commotions in that part of the world might furnish an opportunity to remove Germanicus from an army devoted to his person, and to employ him in new scenes of action, and in distant provinces, where he could be exposed to the chance of war, and more within the reach of treachery. Germanicus, meanwhile, finding the legions zealous in his service, and the malice of Tiberius still implacable, began to consider how he might strike a decisive blow, and by one signal victory conclude the war. For this purpose he reviewed his operations in the three last campaigns, with the various turns of good and evil fortune which he had experienced. He observed that "the Germans, in a pitched battle, or "on equal ground, were always defeated; woods and "fens protected them; and the shortness of the summer, with the quick return of winter, favoured their "cause. It was not so much the sword of the enemy, "as the fatigue of long and difficult marches, that "thinned the Roman army. The loss of military "weapons was an additional evil. Horses were not "to be procured in Gaul, that country being well "nigh exhausted. The baggage of the army, liable "to ambuscades, was always defended at great disadvantage. An expedition by sea promised better "success. The army might penetrate at once into "the heart of the country; and the Germans, unapprised of that mode of attack, would be taken by "surprise. The campaign would be sooner opened; "the legions and their provisions might advance together; men and horses would arrive in good condition: and, with the advantage of harbours for "the fleet, and navigable rivers up the country, the "war might be pushed to the very heart of Germany."

VI. This plan of operations being judged the best, he sent Publius Vitellius and Caius Cantius to convene the states of Gaul; and, in the mean time, committed the care of building a fleet to Silius, Anteius, and Cæcina. A thousand vessels (that number being deemed sufficient) were soon in readiness, but not all constructed on one uniform principle.

Some were of a shorter size, sharpened to a point at the stern and prow, and broad in the middle, the better to endure the fury of the waves; others were flat-bottomed, that they might without difficulty run in upon the shore. A great number had rudders at each end, that, by a sudden turn of the oars, they might work with facility either way. In many of the ships, formed as well to carry sail as to advance with the stroke of the oar, arches were raised on the decks, of strength to bear the engines of war, and at the same time afford room for horses and provisions. The fleet thus equipped, displayed a magnificent spectacle; while the swell of the sails, the alacrity of the oars, and the bustle of their soldiers struck a general terror. The isle of Batavia was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. The shore in those parts being easy of approach, the troops might be speedily landed, and again embarked with expedition, so as to spread an alarm through the country. The Rhine, embracing in its course a few small islands, flows in one united stream, till it reaches the point of Batavia; where it branches off in two different channels; one running with rapid force along the confines of Germany, and, till it fall into the ocean, still retaining its original name; the other, with a wider but less violent current, washes the side of Gaul, and by the inhabitants is called the Wahal, till at last, losing itself in the Meuse, it takes the name of that river and through an immense opening discharges itself into the German Ocean.

VII. While the fleet was preparing for the expedition, Germanicus ordered Silius, with a light detachment, to make an irruption into the territory of the Cattians. Meanwhile, having intelligence that the fort upon the river Luppia was invested, he marched himself, at the head of six legions, to relieve the garrison. A sudden fall of heavy rains obliged Silius to desist from his enterprise. He returned with a moderate booty, and two prisoners; one the wife, the other the daughter, of Arpus, prince of the Cattians. Germanicus was not able to bring the Germans to an engagement. He no sooner appeared before the

place, than the enemy raised the siege, and consulted their safety by flight. It was found, however, that they had levelled to the ground the monument erected the year before to Varus and his legions, and likewise an ancient altar dedicated to Drusus. The prince rebuilt the altar; and joined with the legions in equestrian games, performed a funeral ceremony in honour of his father. He did not judge it advisable to restore the tomb, which had been erected to Varus and the legions; but, with a chain of fortified posts, he secured the whole country between Fort Aliso and the Rhine.

VIII. The fleet assembled at the place appointed. Germanicus ordered the military stores to be sent on board; and, having completed the embarkation of the legions and the allies, sailed through the canal called the canal of Drusus, invoking his father to assist the enterprise, and by the memory of his example to guide and animate his son, now pursuing the same track of glory. The fleet proceeded over the lakes; and, entering the German Ocean, stretched away as far as the river Amisia. There, at a place of the same name on the left hand shore, he landed his men, leaving his ships safe at their moorings. This measure was ill concerted. The debarkation should have been made higher up the country, and on the opposite bank, where the enemy had taken post. The mistake made it necessary to throw bridges over the river, and in that business several days were consumed. At low water the cavalry and the legions forded over the æstuary without difficulty; but the rear, consisting of the auxiliary forces, was overthrown by the return of the tide, and thrown into disorder. The Batavians, in particular, eager to show their dexterity in swimming, continued sporting in the waves till the rapidity of the current overwhelmed them. Some lost their lives. Germanicus pitched his camp. While he was employed in marking out the lines, he received advice that the Angri-varians, whom he had left behind him were in motion. To check their progress, he sent a detachment of light infantry, under the command of Stertinius,

who chastised the treachery of the barbarians, and laid the country waste with fire and sword.

IX. The Visurgis flowed between the Romans and Cherusans. On the opposite bank Arminius presented himself. He was attended by the principal German chiefs. His business was to know whether Germanicus was with the army? being answered in the affirmative, he desired an interview with his brother, known to the Romans by the name of Flavius; a man of strict fidelity, who some years before, under the conduct of Tiberius, lost an eye in battle. The meeting was permitted. Flavius advanced to the margin of the river. Arminius, from the opposite side, saluted him; and having ordered his guards to fall back, required that the Roman archers should withdraw in like manner. The two brothers being left to themselves, Arminius fixed his eye on Flavius; and, Whence, he said, that deformity of feature? He was told the battle and the place where it happened. And what, continued Arminius, has been your recompense? I have received, said Flavius, an augmentation of pay, a military chain, an ornamented crown, and other honours. Arminius burst into a laugh of scorn and indignation. "They are the wages," he said, "of a slave cheaply purchased."

X. A warm altercation followed. Flavius talked of the majesty of Rome, the power of the Cæsars, the weight with which their vengeance falls on the obstinate, and their clemency to the nations willing to submit. He added, "Your wife and son are in the hands of Rome, and neither of them has been treated like a captive." Arminius, on the contrary, urged the rights of men born in freedom, the laws of his country, the plan of ancient liberty, and the gods of Germany. "Your mother," he said, "joins with me in earnest supplication; we both conjure you not to desert your family; not to betray your friends, nor prefer the detested name of a traitor, to the vast renown of commanding armies in the defence of your country." By degrees their passions rose to a pitch of fury, insomuch that the river could not have restrained them from deciding their quarrel

by the sword, if Stertinius had not checked the impetuosity of Flavius, who stood burning with resentment, and calling aloud for his horse and arms. Arminius behaved with equal fury, in his storm of passion denouncing vengeance, and threatening the issue of a battle. What he said was perfectly understood. He had commanded the auxiliaries of his country, acting in conjunction with the legions, and, having conversed in the Roman camp, was able to interlard his discourse with Latin expressions.

XI. On the following day, the Germans appeared on the other side of the Visurgis, drawn up in order of battle. Germanicus, till he had thrown bridges over the river, and made each pass secure, did not think it advisable to expose his legions to the hazard of an engagement. In the mean time, to cause a diversion of the enemy, he ordered the cavalry, under the conduct of Stertinius, and Æmilius, one of the principal centurions, to ford over at two different places. Cariovalda, at the head of his Batavians, advanced where the current was most rapid. The Cherusicans feigned a flight. Cariovalda, pursuing with too much eagerness, pushed on to a place encompassed with woods, and fell into an ambuscade. The enemy rushed on to the attack with impetuous fury. They bore down all who resisted, and pressed on such as gave way. The Batavians formed a ring, and were surrounded on every side. The Germans, at a distance, discharged a volley of darts, while some of them, more eager than the rest, fought hand to hand in close engagement. Cariovalda sustained the shock with undaunted valour. Finding himself, at length, in danger of being overpowered, he exhorted his men to form in platoons, and bravely opened a passage through the ranks of the enemy. He rushed forward into the heat of the action; but his horse being killed, he fell under a shower of darts, and died sword in hand. Several of the prime nobility of his country perished with him. The rest found their safety either in their own valour or the timely succour of Stertinius and Æmilius, who came up with the cavalry.

XII. Germanicus, in the mean time, having passed

the Visurgis, found by a deserter, that Arminius had already fixed upon the spot for a general action, and being reinforced by other nations, then actually assembled in a forest sacred to Hercules, was determined in the dead of night to storm the Roman camp. This intelligence was thought worthy of credit. The fires of the enemy gleamed at a distance; the scouts, who advanced to reconnoitre their posts, heard the neighing of horses, and the bustle of a prodigious but undisciplined multitude. In this important moment, on the eve of a decisive battle, the Roman general thought it a point of moment to explore the sentiments and inclinations of his men. How to accomplish this, with a degree of certainty, was a difficult point. "The tribunes and centurions studied more to bring in agreeable reports, than to relate the truth. The freedmen still retained an original leaven of servility, and friends were prone to flattery. In an assembly of the soldiers, a few forward spirits took the lead, and the whole herd was ready to follow. To sound the real sentiments of the army, the soldier must be taken in his unguarded moments, removed from the eye of his officer, at table with his comrades, when, with frank simplicity, he speaks his mind, and tells his hopes and fears without reserve."

XIII. As soon as night came on, the prince went forth, through the augural gate, covered with the skin of a wild beast. A single attendant followed him. He pursued his way through devious paths, unknown to the sentinels, stopping frequently near the tents, and listening to his own fame. The nobility of his descent was the topic with some; others praised the dignity of his person: the greater part talked of his patience, his courage, and that happy temperament, which, upon all occasions, severe or lively, still preserved the dignity of his character. To such a commander, the place to show their gratitude was the field of battle; there the barbarians ought to suffer for their perfidy; and there the violator of public treaties should be doomed a sacrifice to the glory of Germanicus. Amidst these discourses, a soldier from the adverse camp, who could speak the Roman language, rode

up to the intrenchments, and, in the name of Arminius, proclaimed aloud a promise of wives and lands to every deserter, besides a hundred sesterces for his daily pay, during the continuance of the war. This was felt as an affront: the soldiers cried out with indignation, "The dawn of day shall see us in the field: let Arminius risk a battle: the lands of his countrymen shall be ours by conquest, and their wives shall be carried off in captivity. The offer is an omen of victory. The wealth and the women of Germany shall be the reward of valour." At the third watch, the enemy advanced to the intrenchments; but perceiving the works properly guarded, the cohorts under arms, and all intent on duty, they retreated, without so much as throwing a single dart.

XIV. Germanicus retired to rest, and in his sleep was favoured with a joyful vision. Being employed, as he imagined, at a sacrifice, and the blood of the victim happening to stain his pontifical garment, his grand-mother Livia made him a present of another robe, no less beautiful than magnificent. Pleased with this prognostic, which the auspices confirmed, he called an assembly of the soldiers, and, in a speech, acquainted them with his plan for the ensuing battle. The open plain, he observed, was not the only spot where the Romans could engage with advantage. Woods and forests were equally favourable. The unwieldy buckler of the Germans, and that enormous length of spear, which, amidst surrounding trees and interwoven thickets, was scarcely manageable, could not be compared to the Roman sword, the javelin, and their defensive armour, so well adapted to the shape and motions of the body. "Redouble your blows," he said, "and strike at the face of the enemy. They have neither helmets, nor breast-plates. Their shields are neither riveted with iron, nor covered with hides; they are nothing but ozier twigs intertwined, or slight boards, daubed over with glaring colours. In the foremost ranks a few are provided with pikes and javelins; in the rest of their army you see nothing but stakes hardened in the fire, or weapons too short for execution. The aspect of

“their men may, at first sight, be hideous; in the onset they may have bodily vigour: but let them feel the anguish of their wounds, and they betake themselves to flight, impatient of pain, void of honour, and regardless of their officers; cowards in adversity, and, in the hour of success, above all laws, both human and divine. Do you wish, my fellow-soldiers, for an end of all your toils? Are you weary of tedious voyages, and laborious marches? Now is your opportunity: one battle ends the war. The Elbe is nearer than the Rhine. Beyond this spot we have nothing to subdue. It was here that Drusus, my father, triumphed; and here, Tiberius, my uncle, reaped his laurels. Exert one vigorous effort, and you make me their rival, perhaps their equal in glory.” This speech was received with acclamations; and the ardour of the men blazing out at once, the signal for the charge was given.

XV. Arminius and the German chiefs omitted nothing that could rouse the courage of their men. “Behold,” they said, “the refuse of the Varian army; a set of dastards in the field, and rebels in their camp. With their backs seamed with stripes, their limbs enervated, their strength exhausted by tempestuous voyages, dispirited, weak, and void of hope, they are given to our swords, a sacrifice to the gods, and the victims of German valour. To avoid a fiercer enemy they fled to the ocean, where we could neither attack, nor hang upon their rear. In the ensuing battle the winds cannot befriend them; their oars can give them no assistance. Call to mind their pride, their avarice, and their cruelty; above all, let us remember to act like men, who have resolved to live in freedom, or to die with glory.”

XVI. By these and such like incentives the Germans were inflamed with uncommon ardour. The chiefs conducted them, burning with impatience, to an open plain, called the Idistavisan vale, situate between the Visurgis and a chain of mountains. The ground was of an irregular form, narrow in some parts, where the hills projected forward, and in

others, where the windings of the river made an opening, stretching into length. In the rear of the Germans, and at a small distance, rose a thick forest; the trees large and lofty, with branches expanding near the top; but the trunks bare towards the bottom, and the intermediate space clear of underwood. Of this plain, and the approaches to the wood, the barbarians took possession. The Cherusicans, apart from the rest, took post on the hills, to watch the fortune of the day, and in good time to pour down with fury on the Roman army. Germanicus ranged his men in the following order: the Gauls and German auxiliaries formed the front of the line, followed by a body of archers on foot, and four legions, with Germanicus at the head of two prætorian cohorts, and a select body of cavalry. Four other legions, with the light infantry, the horse-archers, and the remainder of the allies, brought up the rear. The whole army proceeded in order of battle, all instructed to preserve their ranks, and to receive with firmness the first impression of the enemy.

XVII. The Cherusicans, too impatient to keep their post, rushed with impetuosity from their hills. Germanicus no sooner saw their motions, than he sent a chosen body of horse to charge them in flank, while Stertinius, with another detachment, wheeled round to fall upon the rear. The general himself was ready, if occasion required, to second the attack at the head of the legions. In that moment eight eagles were seen stretching with rapid wing towards the wood, where they entered, and disappeared. This was received as an omen of victory. "Advance," said Germanicus, "the Roman birds have marshalled you the way. Pursue the tutelar deities of the legions." The infantry began the assault in front: the cavalry, at the same time, charged the flank and rear. The barbarians, thrown into confusion, presented an uncommon spectacle: those who had been stationed in the woods were driven forward to the plain; and from the plain, the foremost lines fled for shelter to the woods. Between both the Cherusicans were driven down from their heights. Arminius, their chief, per-

formed wonders. Wounded as he was, he braved every danger; with his voice, with his hand, with every effort still sustaining the combat. He fell with fury on the archers, and would have opened his way, had not the Rhætian cohorts, with the Gauls and the Vindelici, advanced their standards to oppose him. Indebted to his own exertions, and the vigour of his horse, he escaped from the field; and, to disguise his person, besmeared his face with his own blood. If report is to be credited, the Chaucians, then serving as the allies of Rome, knew his person, but connived at his escape.

By the like gallant behaviour, or a similiar treachery, Inguiomer survived the havoc of the day. A general carnage followed. Numbers endeavouring to swim across the Visurgis, perished in the attempt, overwhelmed with darts, or carried away by the violence of the current. The multitude then plunged into the water; obstructed one another; and, the banks giving way, were crushed under the load. Some were dastardly enough to seek their safety by climbing up the trees, where they hoped to skulk among the branches: but the Roman archers, in sport and derision, took aim at the fugitives; and in that manner, or by felling the trees, they were all destroyed. The victory was signal; and cost the Romans little or no effusion of blood.

XVIII. The slaughter lasted from the fifth hour, to the close of day. The country, ten miles round, was covered with mangled bodies, and the arms of the vanquished. Among the spoils was found a large quantity of fetters, which the barbarians, anticipating a certain victory, had prepared for the Roman prisoners. The legions on the field of battle proclaimed Tiberius IMPERATOR; and having raised a mount, placed on the top of it a pile of German arms, as the trophies of victory, with an inscription at the base, setting forth the names of the conquered nations.

XIX. To the German mind nothing could be so exasperating as this monument of Roman glory. The wounds received in battle, the desolation of their

country, and the wretched condition to which they were reduced, were all as nothing compared to this insulting memorial. Preparing but a little before to abandon their habitations, and seek new settlements beyond the Elbe, they changed their minds, and once more resolved to try the hazard of a battle. The nobles and the populace, the old and the young, all ranks and classes of men appeared in arms. They pursued the Romans on their march; they harassed the rear, and often threw them into disorder. Resolved at length to risk a battle, they chose for that purpose a narrow and swampy plain, inclosed on one side by a river, and on the other by a thick wood, at the back of which lay a deep morass. A rampart, formerly thrown up by the Angrivarians, as a barrier between themselves and the Cherusicans, inclosed one side of the fen. On this spot the barbarians stationed their infantry. Their cavalry lay in ambush in the woods, with intent, as soon as the Romans advanced, to attack them by surprise, and cut off the rear of the army.

XX. Germanicus had intelligence of all that passed. Their stations, their councils of war, their public debates, their secret resolutions were all discovered; and their own devices were turned against themselves. The command of the horse was given to Seius Tuberus, with orders to form on the open plain. The infantry was so disposed that by an easy pass one division might penetrate into the woods, while the other carried the rampart by assault. Whatever was difficult or arduous the general reserved for himself, leaving all slighter operations to his officers. On the level plain the cavalry bore down all before them; but the rampart was not easily taken. The soldiers who advanced to the attack were as much exposed to the darts of the enemy, as if they had been before the walls of a regular fortification. Germanicus saw the disadvantage. He drew off the legions; and ordered the engineers and slingers to play upon the works, in order to drive the barbarians from their post. A volley of darts was discharged from the battering machines with such incessant fury, that the

bravest of the Germans, who dared to face every danger, died under repeated wounds. The enemy was dislodged from the rampart. Germanicus, at the head of the prætorian cohorts, advanced into the woods: the battle there was fierce and obstinate: both sides fought hand to hand. Behind the barbarians lay the morass; in the rear of the Romans the river and the woods; no room to retreat; valour their only hope, and victory their only safety.

XXI. The martial spirit of the Germans yielded in nothing to the Romans; but their weapons, and their manner of fighting, were a great disadvantage. Pent up in a forest too close for such a multitude, they could neither wound at a distance, nor manage their weapons with their usual agility. The Romans, on the contrary, with their bucklers close to the breast, and their hands covered with the hilt of their swords, found the large proportions of the enemy an easy mark. They gashed the barbarians in the face, and drove them from their ranks. Arminius no longer fought with his usual ardour. Ill success, so often repeated, depressed his spirit; or perhaps the wound, which he had received in the late engagement, had exhausted his strength. Inguimer, performing wonders, and busy in every part of the field, was abandoned by his fortune, not by his courage. Germanicus threw off his helmet, that his person might be better distinguished; and rushing among the ranks, exhorted his men to give no quarter. He cried aloud, "We have no need of prisoners: extirpate the barbarians; nothing less will end the war." The day being far advanced, he ordered one of the legions to quit the field, in order to prepare an encampment: the rest had their measure of revenge, till the approach of night put an end to the effusion of blood. In this battle the Roman cavalry fought with undecided success.

XXII. Germanicus in a public harangue commended the valour of his army; and afterwards raised a pile of arms as a trophy of victory, with this splendid inscription: "The army of Tiberius Cæsar, having

“subdued the nations between the Rhine and the “Elbe, dedicates this monument to Mars, to Jupiter, “and Augustus.” Of the commander in chief no mention was made. To soften envy, he assumed no part of the praise, content with deserving it. Stertinius marched into the territory of the Angrivarians. with orders, if they did not submit, to lay the country waste. The barbarians surrendered at discretion, and received a general pardon.

XXIII. The summer being now far advanced, Germanicus ordered some of the legions to return by land to winter quarters; he himself sailed with the rest, down the river Amisia to the main ocean. The weather was favourable, and the sea presented a perfect calm, unruffled by any motion except what was occasioned by the dashing of the oars, and the rapid motion of a thousand vessels under sail. But this serenity did not last long: the sky was overcast; a storm of hail burst down with sudden fury; squalls of wind drove the billows different ways, and the pilot could no longer see what course to steer. Unused to the tempestuous element, and terrified by the novelty of the danger, the soldiers added to the alarm. They interfered with the mariners; they endeavoured to lend a helping hand; but activity, without skill, served only to embarrass such as knew their duty. The winds at last were collected to one point, and the storm blew directly from the south.

In that climate the south wind is generally more tempestuous than in other seas. Sweeping over the bleak German mountains, it drives from the land a vast body of clouds, that form a scene of impending horror, which the vicinity of the northern regions renders still more formidable. The ships were dispersed: some were thrown on unknown islands, surrounded with rocks, or upon banks of sand that lay concealed beneath the waves. At the turn of the tide, the wind and the current, with united force, drove one way. To lie at anchor was impossible. The billows broke over the ships with such violence, that all the pumps at work could not discharge the water. To lighten

the vessels was the only expedient left: and accordingly horses, beasts of burden, arms, and baggage, were thrown overboard.

XXIV. The storms in other seas are inconsiderable, when compared to the fury of a northern tempest. The ocean in those parts is more boisterous than in any other of the known world, and the rigour of Germany surpasses that of any other climate. The danger of the fleet was, by consequence, more alarming; the magnitude, as well as the novelty of the mischief, exceeding any former voyage, undertaken by the Romans. No friendly shore at hand; every coast in the possession of savage enemies; the sea of a depth incredible; vast in circumference, and, according to the received opinion, without any nation towards the north, or any continent to fix its boundary. A number of ships went to the bottom; many were wrecked on distant islands, secluded from the commerce of man. The soldiers who were cast on shore, perished by famine, or prolonged a wretched existence by feeding on the carcasses of horses thrown up by the sea.

The vessel in which Germanicus sailed, was driven far from the fleet, to the coast inhabited by the Chau-cians. There the disconsolate prince passed whole days and nights among pointed rocks, wandering on the prominent beach, his eyes fixed on the brawling deep, and his heart imputing to himself the whole calamity. It was with difficulty that his friends restrained him from burying himself in the same waves that swallowed up so many gallant soldiers. At length the storm abated. The wind and the tide serving at once, some of the ships were seen making to the land, all in a shattered condition, few oars remaining, and the clothes of the men stretched out for sails. The crippled vessels were drawn in tow by such as were less disabled. Germanicus refitted the fleet with all possible expedition: and, as soon as might be, ordered some of the ships to coast along the islands, in search of the soldiers who had been cast away. By this diligence many were restored to their friends. The Angrivarians, lately reduced to sub-

jection, returned a considerable number, whom they had ransomed from their maritime neighbours. Some were thrown on the coast of Britain, and there released by the petty princes of the country. According to the distance from which the men returned, the account of their perils was swelled with marvellous adventures; they talked of hurricanes and birds, unheard of before; of sea-monsters and ambiguous forms, partly man, and partly fish; things either seen, or else the coinage of imaginations crazed with fear.

XXV. The news of these disasters spreading far and wide, the Germans began to think of renewing the war. Nor was Germanicus less active to counteract their designs. He despatched Caius Silius with thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, to make war on the Cattians; and, in the mean time marched himself, at the head of a greater force, to invade the Marsians. Malovendus, the chief of that nation, had lately surrendered to the protection of Rome. From him intelligence was gained, that the eagle of one of the legions commanded by Varus, lay in a trench covered with earth, in a neighbouring grove, and the guard stationed there could make but a feeble resistance. Two parties were sent forward without delay; one to attack the enemy in front, and draw them from their post; the other to enter the wood in the rear, and recover the eagle. Success attended both expeditions. Germanicus now resolved to penetrate into the heart of the country; he carried destruction wherever he marched, the enemy in every direction flying before him, or if any where they made a stand, either routed or put to the sword. According to the account brought in by the prisoners, a more general panic was never known. All agreed that the Romans rose superior to adversity; a race of men not to be subdued. Their fleet destroyed, their arms lost in the deep, the coast of Germany covered with the dead bodies of men and horses; and yet, said the astonished Germans, they return undismayed, and with their former ferocity renew the charge, as if calamity increased their numbers.

XXVI. The Romans marched into winter quarters,

proud of their exploits, and in their late success losing the memory of past misfortunes. The prince, with that munificence that graced his character, paid to each soldier the amount of his loss. Meanwhile the Germans, weakened and disheartened by the ill success of so many efforts, began to think of pacific measures; nor was it doubted but another summer, if they dared to take the field, would complete and end the war. But Tiberius wished for nothing so much as the return of Germanicus. His letters were all to that effect. "It was time," he said, "to visit the capital, and enjoy the honours of a triumph already decreed. Enough had been performed. The prosperous events of war were balanced by misfortunes. Important battles had been fought, and victory had often attended the Roman arms; but the winds and waves conspired; and losses at sea, not indeed imputable to the general, were very heavy disasters. Tiberius added, that he himself, under the auspices of Augustus, had been sent nine times into Germany; but it was to prudent counsels, more than to force of arms, that he owed all his success. It was by policy that the Sicambrians were wrought to a submission; it was by management that the Suevians were drawn into an alliance with Rome; and it was the same conduct that made Maroboduus listen to terms of peace. The honour of the Roman name was now revived in all its ancient lustre; and it was therefore time to leave the Cherusicans, and the hostile states of Germany, to their own dissensions."

Germanicus, notwithstanding these remonstrances, requested leave to continue in the command for one year more. Tiberius was not to be diverted from his purpose. He plied Germanicus with new arguments, and, as a lure to young ambition, threw out the offer of a second consulship, which required personal attendance at Rome. He urged, moreover, that if the war continued, some share of merit ought to be left to Drusus, the brother of Germanicus, for whom no other field of glory could be found. It was in Germany only that Drusus could acquire the title of IMPE-

RATOR. Rome had no other enemies. The laurel crown must be gained in that quarter of the world. Germanicus saw through these pretences. The object, he knew, was to stop him in the full career of fame: with regret he resigned the command, and returned to Rome.

XXVII. About this time, Libo Drusus, descended from the Scribonian family, was accused of a conspiracy against the state. The history of this transaction in all its stages, its rise, its progress, and its final issue, shall be here laid open. The detail will not be uninteresting; since we are now arrived at that black period, which engendered that race of men, who, for a series of years, were the scourge and pest of society. Libo owed his ruin to his intimacy with Firmius Catus, a member of the senate. Catus saw in his friend, besides the impetuosity of youth, a cast of mind susceptible of vain illusions and superstitious credulity. He saw that the judicial astrology of the Chaldæans, the mysteries of the Magi, and the interpreters of dreams, would be sure to make their impression on a wild and distempered imagination. In such a mind the flame of ambition might be easily kindled. With that intent, he urged the dignity of Libo's ancestors: Pompey was his great grand-father; Scribonia, once the wife of Augustus, was his aunt; the two young Cæsars were his relations; and his house was crowded with images, that displayed an illustrious line of ancestors. Having thus inflamed his pride, he contrived to engage the young man in a course of luxury, and, by consequence, to involve him in a load of debt. He watched him closely in the hour of wild profusion, and in the scenes of distress that followed; affecting with tender regard to be his constant companion, yet lying in wait for evidence; and playing the part of a friend, to be at last a pernicious enemy.

XXVIII. Having procured a competent number of witnesses, and among them such of the slaves as knew their master's course of life, Catus demanded an audience of the emperor. By the means of Flaccus Vescularious, a Roman knight, much in the confi-

dence of Tiberius, he had beforehand disclosed the nature of his business. The emperor refused to grant an interview, and yet encouraged the informer, willing through the same channel to receive further intelligence. Libo in the mean time was raised to the dignity of prætor. He was a frequent guest at the imperial table. In those convivial moments, Tiberius never betrayed a symptom of suspicion. With gentle expressions, and looks of kindness, that master of dissimulation knew how to hide the malice of his heart. The follies of Libo's conduct might have been checked in the beginning; but Tiberius chose to collect materials for a future day. It happened at last that one Junius, who pretended to raise the dead by magic incantations, was appointed, at the request of Libo, to exhibit the wonders of his art. This man hastened with the secret to Fulcinius Trio, at that time a noted informer, who possessed dangerous talents, and by any arts, however pernicious, wished to raise himself into public notice. Libo was cited to appear. Trio applied to the consuls for a solemn hearing before the senate. The fathers were convened to deliberate, as the summons informed them, on matters of moment, and a charge of the blackest nature.

XXIX. Libo changed his dress. In a mourning garb he went from house to house, attended by a female train of the first distinction. He importuned his friends, and among them hoped to find some one willing to undertake his defence. His application was without effect. His friends deserted him, with different excuses; but all from the common motive of fear. On the day of trial, sinking under his distress, and faint with real or pretended illness, he was carried in a litter to the senate-house. He entered the court, supported by his brother. At the sight of the emperor, he stretched forth his hands in the manner of a suppliant, and in a pathetic tone endeavoured to conciliate favour. Tiberius viewed him with a rigid and inflexible countenance. He then proceeded to open the charge, stating the particulars, and the names

of the accusers; but in a style of moderation, neither aggravating nor extenuating the offence.

XXX. Fonteius Agrippa and Caius Vibius, two new accusers, joined in support of the prosecution. Being now four in number, they could not agree among themselves which should take the lead. The point was contested with much warmth. Vibius at length observed, that Libo came to the trial without an advocate to support him; and therefore, to end the dispute with his associates, he undertook to detail in a plain and simple manner the heads of the charge. Nothing could be more wild and extravagant than some of the articles. He stated that Libo had made it a question to the fortune-tellers, whether he should ever be rich enough to cover with money the Appian road, as far as Brundisium. There were other allegations of the same stamp, equally void of common sense; or, to speak more truly, so weak and frivolous, that they could move no passion but pity.

There was, however, one fact of a serious nature. A paper was produced, containing a list of the Cæsars, and also several senators, with remarks, or notes, which no man could decypher, annexed to their names. This was exhibited as the hand-writing of Libo. He insisted on his innocence. It was proposed to put his slaves to the torture. Their evidence, by the established rules of law, was inadmissible. By an ancient decree of the senate, it was ordained, that, where the master's life was in danger, no slave should undergo the question. Tiberius, by a master-stroke of invention, found an expedient to evade the law. He directed a sale of the slaves to be made to the public officer, that, the property being altered, they might then be examined on a new principle, unknown to former times. Libo prayed an adjournment to the next day. Being returned to his own house, he sent by his relation, Publius Quirinius, an humble petition to the emperor; the answer was, "he must address the senate."

XXXI. A party of soldiers surrounded Libo's house and, with the brutal rudeness of men insolent in au

thority, forced their way into the vestibule, determined to make themselves heard and seen by the family. The prisoner was then at table, intending to make an elegant banquet the last pleasure of his life; but a mind in agony could relish nothing. Distracted, terrified, he called on his servants to despatch him; he laid hold of his slaves, and endeavoured to force a sword into their hands. The servants in agitation, made an effort to escape, and, in the struggle, overturned the light that stood upon the table. This to Libo was funereal darkness: he seized the moment, and gave himself two mortal stabs. His groans alarmed the freedmen, who crowded round their master. The soldiers followed; and seeing him at the point of death, had the decency to withdraw. The prosecution, however, did not die with the unfortunate victim. It was resumed in the senate with unabating severity. Tiberius made an end of the business, by declaring that, if the criminal had not done justice on himself, he intended, notwithstanding the manifest proof of his guilt, to have recommended him to the mercy of the fathers.

XXXII. The estate of the deceased was divided among the informers. Such of them as were of senatorian rank were promoted to the prætorship, without the form of an election. Various motions were made in the senate: Cotta Messalinus proposed that the image of Libo should not be carried in the funeral processions of his kindred; Cneius Lentulus, that the surname of Drusus should be no longer assumed by the Scribonian family. On the motion of Pomponius Flaccus, days of public thanksgiving were voted; and gifts were ordered to be presented to Jupiter, Mars, and Concord, at the desire of Lucius Puppius, Asinius Gallus, Papius Mutilus, and Lucius Apronius. It was further decreed, that the ides of September, the day on which Libo despatched himself, should be observed as a festival. Of these resolutions, and their several authors, I have thought proper to record the memory, that adulation may be branded to all posterity, and that men may mark how long a servile spirit has been the canker of the commonwealth.

The tribe of astrologers and magicians, by a decree of the senate, was banished out of Italy. Two of the number suffered death; namely, Lucius Pituanus, and Publius Marcius. The former was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock; and the latter, by order of the consuls, was executed, at the sound of a trumpet, on the outside of the Esquiline gate, according to the form prescribed by ancient usage.

XXXIII. At the next meeting of the senate, the luxury of the times became the subject of debate. The business was introduced by Quintus Haterius, of consular rank, and Octavius Fronto, who had discharged the office of prætor. A law was passed, prohibiting the use of solid gold for the service of the table; and further enacting, that men should not disgrace themselves by the effeminate delicacy of silk apparel. Fronto took a wider compass. He proposed that the quantity of silver in every family, the expense of furniture, and the number of domestics, should be limited by law. The senators at that time did not confine themselves to the question depending before the assembly: but every speaker was at liberty to start new matter, and submit to consideration whatever he thought conducive to the public good.

Asinius Gallus rose in opposition to the opinion of Octavius Fronto. "The commonwealth," he said, "had increased in grandeur, and the wealth of individuals grew with the growth of empire. Nor was this a modern innovation; the same effect, from the same causes, may be traced in the early period of the commonwealth. The Fabricii had their private wealth, and so had the Scipios, but different in degree. Wealth is relative, always in proportion to the affluence of the times. When the state was poor, frugality was the virtue of a citizen. Does the empire flourish? Individuals flourish with it. In matters of domestic expense, such as plate and retinue, the measure of economy or extravagance must be determined by the circumstances of the family. Nothing is mean, nothing superfluous, but what is made so by the condition of the parties. The fortune of a senator, as settled by law, differs from the

“qualifications of a Roman knight. Has nature made
“a distinction between them? No, it is civil policy
“that draws the line; and surely it is fit that they,
“who stand high in rank, in honours, and public sta-
“tion, should live in suitable splendour, not only fur-
“nished with the necessaries, but also with the ele-
“gancies, of life. High station is at best a post of
“danger. Will any one argue, that men in office are
“to drudge in business, condemned to endless toil,
“without the means of repairing the waste of labour,
“and without a comfort to sooth anxiety?” The apo-
logist of dissipation and luxury carried his point. With
an audience of congenial manners, public vices, deco-
rated with specious names, were public virtues. Ti-
berius closed the debate. The times, he said, were
not ripe for a censor; but if corruption went on in-
creasing, there would be no want of vigour to reform
abuses of every kind.

XXXIV. In the course of these debates, Lucius Piso
broke out with vehemence against the reigning vices
of the times, the spirit of intrigue that prevailed in
the forum, the venality of the courts of justice, and
the band of public informers, who were ever armed
with accusations, and spread terror through all ranks
and degrees of men. For his part, he abjured the city
of Rome. In some remote corner of the world, he was
determined to seek an obscure but safe retreat from
the villany of abandoned men. He spoke and left the
senate house. Tiberius heard him, but not without
inward mortification. He endeavoured by every
means in his power to appease his indignation; and
exerted all his interest with Piso's relations, in order
to dissuade him from his purpose. In a short time
after, the same eminent person gave another proof of
his firmness. He had commenced a suit against Ur-
gulantia, a woman raised above the control of law by
the friendship of Livia. Disdaining to answer the
process, this haughty favourite took shelter in the im-
perial palace. Piso persisted in his demand, undis-
mayed by the resentment of Livia, who considered
his obstinacy as an affront to herself. Tiberius
thought fit to temporize with the passions of his mo-

ther. He promised to attend the hearing of the cause, in favour of Urgulania; and that mark of filial compliance he thought would not be considered as a stretch of power.

He set out accordingly from the palace, his guards following at a distance. He proceeded slowly through the streets, amidst a concourse of people, with an air of calm composure, occasionally loitering in conversation. Piso's friends tried all in their power to make him desist from his suit; but nothing could shake that resolute temper. To end the controversy, Livia thought good to pay the whole of his demand. Piso by his firmness did honour to his character, and Tiberius, gained the popular applause. Urgulania continued, notwithstanding, to tower above the condition of a citizen; insomuch that, being summoned as a witness in a matter depending before the senate, her pride would not suffer her to appear. A prætor was sent to take her examination in private; though, by ancient usage, the attendance of the vestal virgins, whenever cited to give their testimony, was never dispensed with, either in the forum or the tribunals of justice.

XXXV. Part of this year was remarkable for a total suspension of all public business. Of this inactive state it would be scarce worth while to take notice, if the different sentiments of Cneius Piso and Asinius Gallus did not seem to merit attention. Tiberius gave notice, that he intended to absent himself for some time from Rome. Piso declared his opinion, that, in such a juncture, the senate ought to attend with greater assiduity to the despatch of business. The fathers and the Roman knights might still discharge their respective functions; "the dignity of the commonwealth required it." Asinius Gallus saw with a jealous eye, that his rival had taken the popular side; and, to counteract his design, rose to oppose the motion. "Nothing," he said, "could be truly great, or worthy of the Roman people, unless conducted under the eye of the prince." The affairs of state, and the great conflux of people, not only from all parts of Italy, but from the provinces, ought to be reserved

“for the presence of the emperor.” Tiberius heard all that passed, but remained silent. A warm debate ensued. At length the fathers agreed to adjourn all business till the prince returned to Rome.

XXXVI. Upon another occasion the same Asinius Gallus had the spirit to clash even with the emperor. He moved, in form, that the election of civil magistrates should take place at the end of five years; that the officers who had the command of a legion, and discharged that duty before they attained the prætorship, should be declared prætors elect, without prejudice to the right of the sovereign to name twelve candidates. This motion, beyond all doubt, had a deeper aim, pointing directly at the policy of the times, and the secret maxims of the court. Tiberius affected to see a design to enlarge the sovereign authority; and, on that ground, replied, “that it was inconsistent with his moderation to take upon him so vast a charge. The power to choose was a power to exclude; and the last was painful. The elections, even when annual, were attended with many inconveniencies. The disappointed candidate was sure to repine at his want of success, and yet his disgrace was but of short duration: he consoled himself with hopes of better success in the following year. Defer the election for five years, and the man rejected for that length of time will find his spirit more deeply wounded. Moreover, at the end of so long a period, who can answer that his character, his family connexions, and his fortune, will be the same? To grow proud in office is the nature of man: extend his authority to the space of five years, and what will be the consequence? Every single magistrate will swell with the pride of five. The laws, which have wisely drawn the line, will be subverted; whereas, at present, the time for soliciting, as well as that of enjoying public honours, is fixed with precision.”

XXXVII. By these specious arguments, delivered with a republican spirit, Tiberius strengthened the interests of despotism. His next measure was a grant of money to certain senators, whose fortunes were inferior to their rank. Nothing, however, in the midst

of such liberal donations, struck the minds of men with so much wonder, as the high tone with which he rejected the application of Marcus Hortalus, a young man of distinction, but embarrassed in his circumstances. He was grandson to Hortensius, the celebrated orator. To prevent the extinction of that illustrious family, Augustus pressed him to marry, and seconded his advice by a present of a thousand great sesterces. The senate was sitting in the emperor's palace: Hortalus attended. Having stationed his four children before the door, he rose in his place, directing his eyes, first to the statue of Hortensius, among the famous orators, then to the statue of Augustus, and spoke to the following effect: "My children, conscript fathers, are now before you: you see their number, and their helpless infancy. They were not mine by choice: the command of Augustus made me a father. Let me add, the merit of my ancestors stood in so distinguished a light, that the line ought not to fail for want of issue. As to myself, the distraction of the times left me nothing but difficulties: involved in distress, destitute, without popular favour, and, above all, not endowed with eloquence, that peculiar gift and fortune of my family, I could have passed my days in humble content, resolved that poverty should neither make me a disgrace to my ancestors, nor a burthen to my friends. The advice of Augustus was a command: I obeyed, and married. Behold the issue of that alliance, the posterity of consuls and dictators. It is not the language of vain glory that I utter; it is the voice of a father pleading for his children. Receive them, Cæsar, to your protection: under your auspicious smiles they may live to deserve your favour, and to merit public honours. In the mean time, let their tender years claim compassion: they are the grandchildren of Hortensius, and they were fostered by Augustus."

XXXVIII. This speech made an impression in his favour: but the inclination of the senate was sufficient to sour a temper like that of Tiberius. He replied to Hortalus nearly in the following words: "If the trade of begging is to be encouraged; if the poor are to

“ come hither in crowds to solicit for their children;
“ the public funds may be exhausted, and the craving
“ of individuals will remain unsatisfied. To depart
“ from the question before the senate, and open new
“ matter for the public service, was no doubt the
“ practice of our ancestors; but, under that sanction,
“ to introduce domestic concerns, with a view to pri-
“ vate interest, is an abuse of the privilege, tending
“ directly to reduce the senate, as well as the sove-
“ reign, to a painful dilemma. Whether we comply,
“ or refuse our consent, either way we encounter pre-
“ judice. Besides, this mode of petitioning is not a
“ modest humble request; it is a demand, brought on
“ by surprise, while other business is before us. At
“ such a time the petitioner comes, and with the age
“ and number of his children assails the passions of this
“ assembly: he does more; he makes a sudden tran-
“ sition to ourself, and by violence of prayer hopes
“ to storm the treasury. But let us remember that, if
“ by our profusion we exhaust the public stock, our
“ crimes must replace it. You are not, Hortalus, now
“ to learn, that the bounty of Augustus was his own
“ voluntary act: he gave you money, but never in-
“ tended that you should live a rent-charge upon the
“ public. By false compassion we injure the commu-
“ nity; industry will go to ruin; sloth will predomi-
“ nate, men will no longer depend upon themselves;
“ but, having from their own conduct nothing to hope
“ or fear, they will look to their neighbours for sup-
“ port: they will first abandon their duty, and then
“ be a burthen on the public.”

Such were the reasonings of Tiberius. His speech was well received by that class of men, who are ever ready to applaud the vices, no less than the virtues, of their master: others heard in silence, or at most with a murmur of disapprobation. Tiberius saw the impression on the minds of the fathers: he paused, and added, that what he had said was a reply to Hortalus; but if the senate judged it proper, he was willing to give two hundred great sesterces to each of his sons. The fathers expressed their thanks; Hortalus made no answer, perhaps through fear, or

probably retaining still the spirit of his ancestors, unbroken by distress. From this time Tiberius never relented. While the house of Hortensius sunk into distress and poverty, he looked on with unconcern, and saw that illustrious family moulder into ruin.

XXXIX. In the course of this year, the daring genius of a single slave well nigh involved the empire in a civil war. The name of this man was Clemens, formerly retained in the service of Posthumus Agrippa. He was no sooner apprised of the death of Augustus, than he conceived the bold design of passing over to the isle of Planasia, with intent, by force or stratagem, to carry off Agrippa, and convey him to the German army. This enterprise, conceived by a slave, was no indication of a grovelling mind. He embarked on board a trading vessel, deeply laden, and after a tedious passage arrived too late: Agrippa was previously murdered. The man was now resolved to act a nobler part. Taking with him the ashes of the prince, he sailed to Cosa, a promontory of Etruria, and there remained concealed in the sequestered parts of the country, till his hair and beard were grown into length. He was of his master's age, and in form and stature not unlike him. He began by his friends and agents to circulate a whisper that Agrippa was still living. The story, as is usual in the beginning of plots, was helped about by clandestine arts. By degrees the tools of this bold adventurer grew more hardy; the weak and ignorant believed every thing; and the bold and turbulent, who wish for nothing so much as convulsions in the state, received the news with joy and exultation. While the report was gaining ground, the author of it withdrew with caution from the public eye. Truth, he was aware, is always brought to light by time and reflection; while the lie of the day lives by bustle, noise, and precipitation. The impostor was therefore resolved to keep the minds of men in a constant ferment: he visited the municipal towns, but always in the dusk of the evening; he went to one place, he flew to another, continually in motion, never long any where; but, as soon as he made his impression,

leaving his fame behind him, or flying before it, to prepossess the people in some new quarter.

XL. The miraculous escape of Agrippa was currently reported all over Italy. At Rome the story was believed. The impostor landed at Ostia, amidst the acclamations of the rabble. Clandestine meetings were held in the capital. Tiberius was thrown into the utmost perplexity. Should he call forth his soldiers to subdue a slave? Were it not more advisable to leave the rumour to its own futility? On a sudden he was bent on vigorous measures, and nothing was to be slighted: he wavered, fluctuated, and to act with coolness seemed more advisable; to be alarmed at trifles was unworthy of the prince. The resolution of one moment gave way to the whim of the next, and pride and fear alternately distracted him. He resolved, and decided nothing. Weary of himself, he left the whole to Sallustius Crispus. That minister sent two of his creatures (some say, two soldiers) to join the fictitious Agrippa, as men devoted to his cause: he gave them full instructions to supply him with money, and profess themselves ready in his service, to encounter every danger. The men acted their parts; and, in the dead of night, seizing their opportunity, fell with a strong party upon the adventurer. Having seized his person, they dragged him in fetters, with a gag in his mouth, to the imperial palace. Being there interrogated by Tiberius, "how he came to be Agrippa;" he is said to have answered, "as you came to be Cæsar." With undaunted resolution he refused to discover his accomplices. Tiberius, not choosing to hazard a public execution, ordered him to be put to death in a sequestered part of the palace. The body was privately conveyed away; and though at the time there was reason to believe that many of the emperor's household, and even several of the Roman knights and senators, assisted the impostor with their advice and money, the affair was dropt without further inquiry.

XLI. Towards the end of the year, a triumphal arch was erected, near the Temple of Saturn, in memory of the Varian eagles retaken under the conduct

of Germanicus, and the auspices of Tiberius. Several other public monuments were dedicated at the same time; a temple to Fortune, in the gardens on the banks of the Tiber, which Julius Cæsar had bequeathed to the Roman people; a chapel sacred to the Julian family; and a statue of Augustus in the suburbs, called *Bovillæ*.

In the consulship of Caius Cæcilius and Lucius Pomponius, Germanicus, on the seventh before the calends of June, enjoyed the glory of a triumph over the Cherusicans, the Cattians, the Angrivarians, and the rest of the nations, extending as far as the Elbe. The spoils of the conquered, the prisoners of war, with various pictures of battles, mountains, and rivers, were displayed with great pomp and splendour. The war, though the general was not suffered to reap the full harvest of his glory, was considered by the populace as entirely finished. Amidst the grandeur of this magnificent spectacle, nothing appeared so striking as the graceful person of Germanicus, with his five children, mounted on the triumphal car. The joy of the multitude was not, however, without a tincture of melancholy. Men remembered that Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was the darling of the people, and yet proved unfortunate; they called to mind young Marcellus, blessed with all his country's wishes, yet prematurely snatched away. It happened, they said, by some fatality, that whenever a favoured character was the delight of the Roman people, their affections ended always in a general mourning.

XLII. Tiberius gave a largess to the populace of three hundred sesterces to each man, and ordered the distribution to be made in the name of Germanicus, at the same time declaring himself his colleague in the consulship for the ensuing year. These marks of good will were specious, but by no man thought sincere. He was now resolved to remove the favourite of the people. This, however, was to be done under colour of new honours. He framed a pretence, or took advantage of that which the posture of affairs presented to him. Archelaus, during a space of fifty years, had swayed the sceptre of Cappadocia; but

had the misfortune of being upon bad terms with the emperor, who, during his residence in the Isle of Rhodes, had taken umbrage at the king's behaviour, and from that moment harboured the deepest resentment. Archelaus, it is true, had shown him no mark of respect; but that inattention did not originate in pride or arrogance. It was the conduct recommended by the confidential friends of Augustus, at a time when Caius Cæsar, flourishing in favour, was sent to arrange the affairs of the east. In that juncture, to court the friendship of Tiberius would have been highly impolitic.

After the failure of the Cæsarian line, and the elevation of Tiberius, letters to the eastern prince were despatched from the emperor's mother, avowing her son's resentment, but offering an entire remission of past offences, provided he came in person to solicit his pardon. Archelaus did not perceive the intended treachery; or, perceiving it, thought it prudent to dissemble. He risked a journey to Rome.

Tiberius received him with pride and sullen aversion. The king of Cappadocia was arraigned before the senate; and though the charge was without foundation, a royal mind, not used to acknowledge an equal, much less to bend to the humiliating condition of a state-criminal, was naturally pierced to the quick. Worn out with grief, and drooping under the infirmities of age, the unhappy monarch died of a broken heart, or perhaps fell by his own hand. His kingdom was reduced to a Roman province. With this new source of wealth, Tiberius declared himself able to diminish the tax of the hundredth penny, and accordingly changed it to the two-hundredth. About this time died Antiochus and Philopater; the former king of Commagena, and the latter of Cilicia. By their deaths their kingdoms were thrown into violent convulsions. Two factions were at variance; one, which formed a large majority, was willing to submit to the government of Rome; the other contended for the independence of their monarchy. In the same juncture the provinces of Syria and Judæa prayed to be relieved from the burden of oppressive taxes.

XLIII. This state of affairs, and the commotions in Armenia, which have been already mentioned, Tiberius laid before the senate. His conclusion was, that to settle the troubles of the east, recourse must be had to the wisdom of Germanicus. As to himself, he was now in the vale of years, and Drusus had neither maturity of age nor experience. The provinces beyond the Mediterranean were, by a decree of the senate, committed to Germanicus. He was made commander in chief, with supreme authority, wherever he went, over all other governors, whether appointed by lot, or the will of the prince. At that time Creticus Silanus was the governor of Syria. He had promised his daughter in marriage to Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus. For that reason Tiberius recalled him from the province, and in his place appointed Cneius Piso, a man of violent passions, impatient of control, and fierce with all the spirit of his father, that famous republican, who in the civil wars took up arms against Julius Cæsar, and rekindled the flame in Africa. After that exploit he followed the fortunes of Brutus and Cassius. Being at length restored to his country, he disdained all public offices, till Augustus prevailed upon him to accept of the consulship. To the pride derived from such a father, the son united the insolence of wealth, acquired by his marriage with Plancina, who, besides her high descent, possessed immoderate riches. Proud of that connexion, Piso thought himself scarcely second to Tiberius. The emperor's sons were beneath his rank. The government of Syria, he made no doubt, was given to him, as a bar to the hopes of Germanicus. For this purpose secret instructions were at the time said to have been given to him by Tiberius. Plancina, it is certain, had her lesson from Livia, with full instruction, to mortify the pride of Agrippina with all the arts of female emulation.

The court of Tiberius, divided between Drusus and Germanicus, was a scene of domestic faction. The emperor, as was natural, gave the preference to his own immediate issue; but the preference had no other effect than that of attaching the friends of Germani-

cus more warmly to his interest. They considered him, by the maternal line, of higher birth than Drusus; Marc Antony was his grand-father, and Augustus Cæsar his great uncle. On the other hand, Pomponius Atticus, the great grand-father of Drusus, having never risen above the rank of a Roman knight, seemed to tarnish the lustre of the Claudian line. The merit of Agrippina weighed greatly in the scale. She had brought to Germanicus a numerous offspring; and her character, free from blemish, placed her in a point of view superior to the younger Livia, the wife of Drusus. The two brothers, amidst the heat of contending parties, lived in perfect harmony: their friends were at variance, but the princes loved each other.

XLIV. Drusus was soon after sent to command the army in Illyricum. In that school of military science he might improve in the art of war, and gain the affections of the army. The camp, Tiberius thought, would wean a young man from the dissolute manners of the capital. He had still another motive: while his two sons were at the head of the legions, he might live in security, free from danger, and every possible alarm. But the ostensible reason for the expedition of Drusus, was an application from the Suevians, praying the assistance of Rome against the Cherusicans, who had turned their disappointed rage against their countrymen. The fact was, Germany being at that time evacuated by the Romans, the different nations of that country, no longer dreading a foreign invasion, began, according to the genius of barbarians, to quarrel among themselves. The present difference was a struggle for power between two rival states. The strength on each side was nearly equal; the abilities of the chiefs much upon a balance; but the name of king was detested by the Suevians, and, by consequence, Maroboduus was unpopular. On the opposite side, Arminius, the champion of liberty, was the idol of his country.

XLV. Arminius took the field at the head of a considerable army. The Cherusicans, and a large body of allies, accustomed to fight under him, followed his standard. To these were added the Semnones and

the Langobards, two Suevian nations revolted from Maroboduus. By this defection the superiority had been decidedly with Arminius, had not Inguiomer thrown his whole weight into the opposite scale. For this conduct the pride of the man was the exciting motive. Arminius was the son of Inguiomer's brother; and the uncle, now a veteran soldier, disdained to serve under his nephew; and obey the orders of a boy. The two armies were drawn up in order of battle; on both sides equal ardour, and equal hopes of victory. The Germans no longer carried on a desultory war, in detached parties, and irregular bodies: their long conflict with the Romans had made them soldiers. Discipline was introduced; they followed the colours, they supported the broken ranks, and with prompt alacrity obeyed the word of command. Arminius appeared on horseback, rushed through the ranks, and animating his men to deeds of valour. He congratulated them on the recovery of their liberty: he gloried in the slaughter of Varus and his legions; he pointed to the spoils of victory, and the Roman weapons then in hands of numbers; he called Maroboduus a coward and a fugitive, who never fleshed his sword in battle, but fled for shelter to the Hercynian forest, where, by negotiation, by bribes and embassies, he patched up an ignominious peace. A traitor to his country, and the slave of Cæsar, he was more an object of vengeance than Varus and his legions. He conjured them to remember the battles they had fought, and the glorious issue of all their labours. "The Romans," he said, "have abandoned Germany; they are exterminated; and if men desire to know who were the conquerors, the event of the war will tell."

XLVI. Maroboduus, in the mean time, was not inactive. Of himself he talked in magnificent terms, and of the enemy with contempt and indignation. Holding Inguiomer by the hand, "Behold," he said, "in this brave warrior, the support and glory of the Cheruscan name! To him they are indebted for the success of their arms. Arminius had no share in the conduct of the war; a rash presumptuous man,

“without knowledge or experience; he tears the laurel from another’s brow, and founds his merit on fraud and murder: he fell by surprise upon three legions, and put an unsuspecting general, with his whole army, to the sword. All Germany has had reason to rue the carnage of that day; nor has Arminius any thing to boast. His wife and his son are languishing in Roman chains. Has my conduct produced so dreadful a catastrophe? Tiberius, at the head of twelve legions, advanced against me; but the glory of the German name suffered no diminution. The peace which followed was made on equal terms. For that treaty I have no reason to blush. Hostilities were suspended, and you gained time to deliberate which was most advisable, war with Rome, or a safe and honourable peace.”

The two armies were in this manner animated by their respective chiefs. The several nations added their own private motives. The Cheruskans took the field to maintain their ancient glory, and the Langobards to defend their liberty recently recovered. The Suevians aimed at an extension of territory. No battle was ever fought with more inflamed resentment, and none with such equivocal success. The right wing on both sides were put to flight. A decisive action was expected; when Maroboduus drew off his forces, and encamped on the neighbouring hills; acknowledging by his retreat, the superior strength of the enemy. Desertion in a little time thinned his army. He retired into the country of the Marcomanians, and thence sent a deputation to Tiberius, in hopes of obtaining succours. The emperor’s answer was, that Maroboduus, in the late war with the Cheruskans, had given the Romans no assistance; there was therefore no pretence for the present application. Drusus, notwithstanding, was despatched, in the manner already mentioned to secure the frontiers from the incursions of the enemy, and to maintain the tranquillity of the empire.

XLVII. In the course of this year twelve principal cities in Asia were destroyed by an earthquake. The calamity happened in the night, and was for that

reason the more disastrous; no warning given, and by consequence no time to escape. The open fields, in such dreadful convulsions, are the usual refuge; but the earth opening in various places, all who attempted to fly were buried in the yawning caverns. Hills are said to have sunk, and valleys rose to mountains. Quick flashes of lightning showed all the horrors of the scene. The city of Sardes suffered most, and was relieved in proportion to the distress of the inhabitants. Besides a remission for five years of all taxes, whether due to the public treasury, or the coffers of the prince, Tiberius promised a supply of one hundred thousand great sesterces. The city of Magnesia, situate near mount Sipylus, suffered, in the next degree, and was considered accordingly. The inhabitants of Temnos, Philadelphia, Egæa, and Apollonia, with the cities of Hierocæsarea, Myrina, Cymè, Tmolus, as also the Mosthenians, and the people called the Macedonians of Hyrcania, were, for the like term of five years, exempted from all manner of imposts. The senate resolved to send a person of their own order to make an estimate of the mischief, and grant suitable relief. The affairs of Asia were at that time administered by a man of consular dignity. To avoid the jealousy incident to officers of equal rank, Marcus Aletus, who had risen no higher than the office of prætor, was the person commissioned to superintend the business.

XLVIII. Besides these acts of public munificence, Tiberius showed, in matters of a private nature, a spirit of liberality that did him the highest honour. The estate of Æmilia Musa, who was possessed of a large fortune, and died intestate, leaving no lawful heir, was claimed to the prince's use by the officer of the imperial exchequer. Tiberius renounced his right in favour of Æmilius Lepidus, who seemed to stand in some degree of relation to the deceased. He gave up, in like manner, the rich possessions of Patuleius, a Roman knight; and, though a considerable legacy was left to himself, he resigned the whole to Marcus Servilius, upon the ground of a former will, duly attested, in which Servilius was constituted sole heir.

For this disinterested conduct the reason assigned was, that the dignity of two such illustrious citizens deserved to be supported. In general, it was a rule with Tiberius, in all cases where he had no previous title from connexion or friendship, not to accept any property as testamentary heir. When humour, caprice, or passion induced a stranger to disinherit his kindred, and make a disposition in favour of the prince, he declared it an inofficious testament. To honest and virtuous poverty he often showed himself a friend, to prodigality he was an inflexible enemy. In the class of spendthrifts he considered Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sylla, and Quintus Vitellius. These men, undone by their own extravagance, were either expelled the senate, or allowed to vacate their seats.

XLIX. The plan undertaken by Augustus for the building of temples in the room of such as had been injured by time, or damaged by fire, was now completed. Tiberius dedicated the various structures of their respective deities; one near the Great Circus to Bacchus, Proserpine, and Ceres. originally raised in consequence of a vow made by Aulus Posthumius the dictator; a temple to Flora, near the same place, formerly dedicated by Lucius and Marcus Publicius, during their ædileship; another to Janus, in the herb-market, founded by Caius Duillius, the first who by a naval victory added lustre to the Roman name, and triumphed over the Carthaginians. The temple of Hope, vowed by Atilius in the same Punic war, was dedicated by Germanicus.

L. Meanwhile, the law of violated majesty went on with increasing fury. A prosecution founded on that cruel device was set on foot against Apuleia Varrilia, descended from a sister of Augustus, and grand niece to that emperor. She was charged with speaking defamatory words to the dishonour of Augustus, and uttering sharp invectives against Tiberius and his mother. Adultery was another head of accusation: though related to the Cæsarian family, she had, by her licentious conduct, brought disgrace on that illustrious name. The last article was thrown

out of the case, as a matter within the provisions of the Julian law. With regard to her calumnious language, Tiberius desired that a distinction might be made. If it appeared in proof, that she had spoken irreverently of Augustus, the law he said, should take its course; but personalities levelled at himself might pass with impunity. A question was put by the consul touching the liberties taken with the emperor's mother. Tiberius made no reply. At the next meeting of the senate he informed the fathers that words affecting Livia were, by her own desire, never to be imputed as a crime. Varilia was acquitted on the law of majesty. With regard to the charge of adultery, Tiberius requested the fathers to soften the rigour of their sentence. In conformity to ancient practice, he was of opinion, that the relations of the offender might remove her to the distance of two hundred miles from Rome. This mode of punishment was adopted. Manlius, her paramour, was banished from Italy and Africa.

LI. The office of prætor becoming vacant by the death of Vipsanius Gallus, the appointment of a successor gave occasion to a warm and eager contest. Haterius Agrippa, nearly related to Germanicus, was declared a candidate. Drusus and Germanicus, both still at Rome, espoused his interest. It was, however, a settled rule, that the person who had the greatest number of children should be deemed to have the superior title. From this line of decision many of the fathers were unwilling to depart. Tiberius saw with inward satisfaction the senate wavering between the law and the wishes of his sons. The law as may be imagined, proved too feeble. The two princes carried the question, though not without a strong contention, and by a small majority. This, however, was no more than what often happened in better times, when laws were still in force, but had to struggle with power, and were often obliged to yield to superior interest.

LII. By the spirit of a bold and daring adventurer, a war was this year kindled up in Africa. This man, a Numidian by birth, and known by the name of Tac-

farinas, had served in the Roman camp among the auxiliary troops. He deserted afterwards, and collected together a body of freebooters, accustomed to live by rapine, and by consequence addicted to a life of warfare. Tacfarinas had acquired some rudiments of military discipline. He formed his rash levied numbers into companies of foot and squadrons of horse. Having drawn over to his party the Musulnians, a nation bordering on the wilds of Africa, where they led a roving life, without towns, or fixed habitations, he was no longer the chief of a band of robbers, but with a higher title, the general of a people. The neighbouring Moors, a race of savages, under the command of Mazippa, joined the confederacy. The two chiefs agreed to divide their troops into two separate bodies. Tacfarinas, with the flower of the army formed a regular camp, arming his men after the Roman manner, and training them to the art of war; while Mazippa, at the head of his light-armed freebooters, ravaged the country, and marked his way with fire and sword. The Cinithians, a nation by no means contemptible, were forced to enter into the league.

At length, Furius Camillus, proconsul of Africa, advanced to check the insurgents, at the head of a legion, and such of the allies as still remained under his command. With this handful of men, a slender force when compared to the numbers of the Moors and Numidians, the Roman general determined to hazard a decisive action. His chief care was, not to strike the enemy with terror. Their fears, he knew, would make them avoid an action, and protract the war. The barbarians hoped to gain an easy victory, and by their hopes were led on to their destruction. Camillus drew up in order of battle. His legion formed the centre: in the wings were stationed the light cohorts, and two squadrons of horse. Nor did Tacfarinas decline the conflict. He engaged, and was totally routed. By this victory the name of Camillus, after an interval of many years, seemed to retrieve its ancient honours. From him, who was the deliverer of Rome, and his son, who emulated the father's ex-

ample, all military fame was transplanted to other families, till Camillus, the conqueror of Tacfarinas, once more revived the glory of his ancestors; but he did it without their talents. He had seen no service, nor was he considered as an officer. Tiberius for that reason was the more lavish in his praise. Triumphal ornaments were decreed to him by the senate; nor was he afterwards ruined by his merit. His moderation, and the simplicity of his manners, screened him from envy. He enjoyed his honours with impunity.

LIII. Tiberius and Germanicus were joint consuls for the following year; the former for the third time, and the latter for the second. Germanicus, in this juncture, was absent from Rome, at the city of Nicopolis in Achaia. He had passed into Dalmatia, on a visit to his brother Drusus. From that place he sailed along the coast of Illyricum; and after a tempestuous voyage in the Adriatic and the Ionian seas, arrived at Nocopolis, where he was invested with his new dignity. His fleet had suffered, and took some days to refit for sea. In the mean time he seized the opportunity to view the Bay of Actium, rendered famous by the great naval victory at that place. He saw the trophies consecrated by Augustus, and the lines of Marc Antony's camp. To him, who was grand-nephew to Augustus, and grandson to Marc Antony, the scene was interesting. Every object reminded him of his ancestors; and every circumstance awakened those tender sensations, in which the heart unites regret and pleasure. From Nicopolis he proceeded to Athens. In that city, the seat of valour and of literature, and for many years in alliance with Rome, he showed his respect for the inhabitants by appearing without pomp, attended only by a single lictor. The Greeks exhausted their invention to do him honour: ingenious in the arts of flattery, they took care to blend with their compliments frequent mention of the renowned exploits and memorable sayings of their ancestors; and thus, by enhancing their own merit, they thought they gave refinement, and even value, to adulation.

LIV. From Athens Germanicus sailed to the island of Eubœa, and thence to Lesbos, where Agrippina was delivered of a daughter, called Julia, the last of her children. From Lesbos he pursued his voyage along the coast of Asia; and, after visiting Perinthus and Byzantium, two cities of Thrace, sailed through the straits of the Propontic, into the Euxine Sea, led by curiosity to visit places renowned in story. In his progress he attended every where to the complaints of the inhabitants, whom he found distracted by their own intestine divisions, or labouring under the tyranny of the magistrates. He redressed grievances, and established good order, wherever he went.

On his return from the Euxine, he intended to visit Samothracia, famous for its rites and mysteries; but the wind springing up from the north, he was obliged to bear away from the coast. He viewed the ruins of Troy, and the remains of antiquity in that part of the world, renowned for so many turns of fortune, the theatre of illustrious actions, and the origin of the Roman people. He landed next at Colophon, to consult the oracle of the Clarian Apollo. The responses at this place were not delivered, like those at Delphos, by a Pythian maid: a priest officiates, chosen by custom out of certain privileged families, and generally a citizen of Miletus. From such as apply to him, he requires nothing but their number and their names. Content with these particulars, he descends into a cavern; and, after drinking from a secret spring, though untaught with learning, and a stranger to poetry, he breaks out in a strain of enthusiastic verse, on the subject of every man's hopes and fears. He is said to have foretold the approaching fate of Germanicus, but in the oracular style, dark and enigmatical.

LV. Piso, in the mean time, impatient to execute his evil purposes, made his entry into Athens, and with the tumult of a rude and disorderly train, alarmed the city. In a public speech he thought fit to declaim against the inhabitants, obliquely glancing at Germanicus, who, he said, by ill-judged condescensions, had impaired the dignity of the Roman name.

The civility of the prince, he said, was shown, not to the men of Athens (a race long since extirpated,) but to a vile heterogeneous mass, the scum of various nations, at one time in league with Mithridates against Sylla, and afterwards with Marc Antony against Augustus. He went back to the times of Philip of Macedon; condemning, in terms of reproach, not only their feeble exertions in their struggle with that monarch, but also the ingratitude of a giddy populace to their best and ablest citizens. To this behaviour Piso was instigated by a private pique against the Athenians. It happened that one Theophilus was condemned for forgery by the judgment of the Areopagus: Piso endeavoured to gain a pardon for this man, but that upright judicature was inflexible.

After this prelude to the scenes which he was still to act, Piso embarked, and after a quick passage through the Cyclades, arrived at Rhodes. While he lay at the mouth of the harbour, a storm arose, and drove the vessel on the point of a rock. Germanicus was then at Rhodes. He knew the hostilities that had been already commenced against himself, and might have left a man of that dangerous character to the mercy of the winds and waves; but, acting with his usual benevolence, he sent off boats and galleys to save even an enemy from destruction. Gratitude was not in the character of Piso. He spent but a single day with his benefactor; and to take his measures beforehand, proceeded on his way to Syria. Having reached that place, he began by bribery, by intrigue and cabals, to draw to himself the affections of the legions. He caressed the lowest of the soldiers: he dismissed the centurions of approved experience, and removed all the tribunes, who supported military discipline, substituting in their room his own dependants, and still worse, the vile and profligate, who had nothing but their crimes to recommend them. Sloth prevailed in the camp; licentiousness diffused itself through the cities; and over the face of the country nothing was seen but a dissipated and disorderly band of soldiers. By these practices Piso rose into

popularity, insomuch that he was hailed the *Father of the Legions*.

His wife Plancina forgot the decencies of the female character. She attended the troops in the field, she reviewed the cavalry; she railed with spleen and malice against Agrippina, and did not even spare Germanicus. This behaviour, it was generally believed, had the approbation and countenance of Tiberius. The consequence was, that not only the weak and profligate were alienated from Germanicus, but even the men of sober conduct, who were inclined to remain in their duty, went in a short time to pay their homage to the favourites of the emperor.

LVI. Germanicus was fully apprised of these proceedings; but Armenia claimed his first attention. He hastened without loss of time to regulate the affairs of that kingdom, where caprice and levity marked the national character, and the situation of the country encouraged the inconstancy of the people. Armenia borders a great length of way upon the Roman provinces; then stretches, to a vast extent, as far as the territory of the Medes. Hemmed in by two great empires, that of Parthia and of Rome, the Armenians are never steady to either; but, with their natural levity, alternately at variance with each; with the Romans, from rooted aversion; with the Parthians, from motives of ambition, and national jealousy. In the present juncture, the throne was vacant. Vonones being expelled, the wishes of the people were fixed on Zeno, the son of Polemon, king of Pontus. The young prince had shown, from his earliest youth, a decided inclination to Armenian manners. The sports of the chase were his favourite amusement; he delighted in carousing festivals, and all the pastimes of savage life. For these qualities he was high in esteem, not only with the populace, but also the grandees of the nation. In this disposition of men's minds, Germanicus entered the city of Artaxata, and, amidst the acclamations of the people, placed the diadem on the head of Zeno. The Armenians paid homage to their new master, in the ardour of their zeal proclaiming him king, by the name of Artaxias,

in allusion to the place of his coronation. About the same time, the Cappadocians, who had been reduced to the form of a province, received Quintus Veranius as their governor. The first measure of his administration was, to remit part of the taxes heretofore paid to their kings; that from so mild a beginning, the people might conceive a favourable idea of Roman moderation. The Comagenians, in like manner, submitted to the government of a prætor, and Quintus Servæus was appointed to the office.

LVII. In this manner tranquillity was established in the east. The events were important, and such as might have given Germanicus reason to congratulate himself; but his joy was poisoned by the repeated hostilities and the insolence of Piso. This man had orders to march with a detachment of the legions into Armenia, or, at his option, to give the command to his son. He complied in neither instance. The prince met him at Cyrrum, the winter quarters of the tenth legion. At that place they came to an interview, both with countenances adjusted to the occasion. Piso with an air of intrepidity, still disdaining a superior; and Germanicus with the serenity of a man, who wished to stifle his resentment. The gentle qualities of his nature inclined him at all times to moderation; but his friends, with the usual talent of men who love to make bad worse, inflamed the quarrel. They aggravated what was true; they gave colour to falsehood; and omitted nothing to the disadvantage of Piso, Plancina, and their sons.

In the presence of a few select friends, Germanicus came to an explanation: his language was in that measured style, which anger and prudence, combating each other, usually inspire. Piso made an arrogant apology. The meeting broke up, and both retired with smothered resentment. From this time Piso rarely attended the tribunals of justice: whenever he appeared in court, his countenance plainly discovered ill-will, and sullen discontent. At a banquet given by the Nabathean king, a sudden expression fell from him, and betrayed his real temper. Golden crowns were presented to the company; two, for Germanicus

and Agrippina, were of a ponderous size; while those for Piso and the rest were of inferior value. Piqued at the distinction, Piso exclaimed, "This feast is made for the son of a Roman prince, not of a Parthian king." In the instant he threw the present made to himself, with peevish contempt, on the ground, declaiming with bitterness against the growth of luxury. Germanicus heard his rude invective, but still remained master of himself.

LVIII. About this time arrived ambassadors from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, with instructions to mention, in terms of respect, the ancient alliance between Rome and Parthia, and the desire of the monarch to renew their former friendship. As an earnest of respect for Germanicus, Artabanus was willing to advance to an interview as far as the Euphrates; but he made it a condition, that Vonones should be removed from Syria, where his residence in the neighbourhood of Parthia, gave him an opportunity to carry on secret negotiations with the nobles of the realm, and in time to stir up a revolt. Germanicus answered with condescension, yet with dignity. Of the alliance between Rome and Parthia he spoke with due regard, and the royal visit he considered as an honour to himself. Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis, on the coast of Cilicia, not so much to comply with the demands of the Parthian king, as to curb the insolence of Piso, then linked in ties of friendship with the exiled prince, who had contrived, by marks of respect and magnificent presents, to purchase the favour of Plancina.

LIX. In the consulship of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus, Germanicus made a progress into Egypt, to view the monuments of antiquity, so much celebrated in that country. For this journey the good of the province was his pretext. In fact, by opening the public granaries, he reduced the price of corn; and by pursuing popular measures, he gained the good-will of the inhabitants. He appeared in public without a guard; his feet uncovered, after the Greek fashion; and the rest of his apparel was also Greek. In these particulars he took for his model

the conduct of Publius Scipio, who, we are told, did the same in Sicily, while Rome was still convulsed by the distractions of the Punic war. Tiberius, as soon as he received advices from Egypt, condemned this affectation of foreign manners, but without asperity. Another point appeared to him of greater moment. Among the rules established by Augustus, it was a maxim of state policy, that Egypt should be considered as forbidden ground, which neither the senators, nor the Roman knights, should presume to tread, without the express permission of the prince. This was, no doubt, a wise precaution. It was seen that, whoever made himself master of Alexandria, with the strong holds, which by sea and land were the keys of the whole province, might, with a small force, make head against the power of Rome, and, by blocking up that plentiful corn country, reduce all Italy to a famine. Germanicus, without authority, had entered Alexandria; and this, to the jealous temper of Tiberius, was little short of a state crime.

LX. Meanwhile, Germanicus, little suspecting that he had incurred the emperor's displeasure, determined to sail up the Nile. He set out from Canopus, a city built by the Spartans, in memory of a pilot of that name, who was buried on the spot, at the time when Menelaus, on his return from Troy, was driven by adverse winds on the coast of Libya. From Canopus, the next place of note was a mouth of the river dedicated to Hercules, who was born, as the inhabitants contend, in that country. He was, according to them, the first of the heroic line; and his name, being made another term for virtue, was by the voice of succeeding ages bestowed on all who emulated the example of the Egyptian worthy. Germanicus proceeded to the magnificent ruins of the city of Thebes, where still was to be seen, on ancient obelisks, a pompous description, in Egyptian characters, of the wealth and grandeur of the place. From the account of an elderly priest, who was desired to interpret the hieroglyphics of his country, it appeared that Thebes, at one time, contained within her walls no less than seven hundred thousand men, capable of bearing arms;

that the whole army was called forth into the field by Rhamses, one of the kings of Egypt; and, under the auspices of that monarch overran all Libya, Æthiopia, and in their progress subdued the Medes and Persians, the Bactrians and the Scythians, with the extensive regions inhabited by the Syrians, the Armenians, and their neighbours the Cappadocians. By this conquest a tract of country, extending from Bithynia on the Pontic Sea to the coast of Lycia, in the Mediterranean, was reduced to subjection. The inscription further stated the tribute payed by the conquered nations; the specific weight of gold and silver; the quantity of arms, the number of horses, the offerings of ivory and of rich perfumes presented to the temples of Egypt; the measure of grain, and the various supplies administered by every nation; making altogether a prodigious revenue; no way inferior to the taxes of late years collected either by Parthian despotism, or the authority of Rome.

LXI. In a country abounding with wonders, the curiosity of Germanicus was not easily satisfied. He saw the celebrated statue of Memnon, which, though wrought in stone, when played upon by the rays of the sun, returns a vocal sound. He visited the pyramids, those stupendous structures raised by the emulation of kings, at an incredible expense, amidst a waste of sands almost impassable. He saw the prodigious bason, formed by the labour of man, to receive the overflowings of the Nile; and in other parts of the river, where the channel is narrowed, he observed a depth of water so profound, that the curiosity of travellers has never been able to explore the bottom. The prince proceeded as far as Elphantinè and Scyenè, the boundaries formerly of the Roman empire, though now extended as far as the Red Sea.

LXII. While Germanicus passed the summer in visiting the provinces of Egypt, Drusus, by his able conduct in Pannonia, acquired no small degree of reputation. He had the address to make the Germans turn their hostilities against themselves. The power of Maroboduus was in its wane; and his countrymen were, by consequence, encouraged to complete the

ruin of that unfortunate prince. Catualda, a young man of rank, who was formerly compelled by the injustice of Maroboduus to fly his country, had taken refuge among the Gothones. The season of revenge was at length arrived. At the head of a strong force he entered the territory of the Marcomanians. Having seduced the leading nobles to his party he stormed the royal palace, and took by assault a strong castle nearly adjoining, where the Suevians had been accustomed to deposit their plunder. A considerable booty fell into his hands. He found, besides, a number of victuallers and traders from the Roman provinces; men who had been attracted to that part of the world by the liberty allowed to commerce, and by the love of lucre were induced to remain, till by force of habit, they lost all remembrance of their native land.

LXIII. Maroboduus, finding himself deserted by his people, had no resource but in the friendship of Tiberius. He crossed the Danube, where that river washes the confines of Noricum; and thence sent his despatches to Rome, not in the humble style of a prince driven from his throne, but, even in ruin, with an elevation of mind worthy of his former grandeur. The substance of his letter was, that the nations who knew his fame in arms had made him offers of friendship, but he chose rather to rely on the protection of the Romans. Tiberius promised him a safe retreat in Italy; with liberty, if his affairs took a favourable turn, to withdraw whenever his interest should invite him. To the fathers he talked a different language: Philip of Macedon, he said, was not so much to be dreaded by the Athenians, nor Pyrrhus or Antiochus by the Roman people. His speech on this occasion is still extant; we there find him magnifying the fortitude of the German chief, and the ferocity of the nations over which he reigned with absolute power. He sets forth the danger of a powerful enemy so near the Roman frontier, and applauds himself for the wisdom of the measures that brought on the ruin of a great and warlike prince. Maroboduus was received at Ravenna: and there held up to the Suevians,

if they dared to commence hostilities, as a prince that might once more ascend the throne. In the space, however, of eighteen years, Maroboduus never once stirred out of Italy. He grew gray in indolence; and clinging too long to a wretched life, survived his reputation.

Catualda experienced a like reverse of fortune, and found no better refuge. The Hermundurians, led on by Vibillius their chief, expelled him from the throne. The Romans fixed his residence at Foro-Julium, a colony in Narbon Gaul. The barbarians, who followed the fortunes of the two exiled kings, were not suffered to incorporate with the people of the provinces; but to prevent the danger that might otherwise shake the public tranquillity, were conducted beyond the Danube, where they had allotments of land between the rivers Marus and Cusus, under the command of Vannius, a man born in the Quadian nation, and by Tiberius made king of the colony.

LXIV. The elevation of Artaxias to the throne of Armenia being about this time known at Rome, the senate decreed the lesser triumph to Drusus and Germanicus. Triumphal arches were raised near the Temple of Mars the avenger, and the statues of the two princes were placed in a conspicuous point of view. Tiberius rejoiced at these events; and the more so, as they were the effect of policy; not of conquest. By the same insidious arts he now began to plan the destruction of Rhescuporis, king of Thrace. Rhæmetalces at one time reigned sole monarch over that whole country. After his death Augustus made a partition of the kingdom, assigning to Rhescuporis, the late king's brother one moiety; and the other to Cotys, son of the deceased monarch. In this division of the kingdom, the cultivated parts of the country, the fertile vales and flourishing cities that lay contiguous to Greece, fell to the share of Cotys; the wild and barren places, which were open to hostile incursions, were allotted to Rhescuporis. The genius of the two kings resembled their soil; the milder virtues distinguished the character of Cotys; ferocity, ambition, rapine, and impatience of an equal, were the

prominent features of Rhescuporis. The princes preserved at first a show of mutual concord; in time Rhescuporis began to encroach on his nephew, not indeed with open violence, as he knew that Augustus, the founder of both kingdoms, might likewise prove the avenger of wrongs. During that emperor's life, he concealed his designs; but he no sooner heard that Rome had changed masters, than he threw off the mask and avowed his ambition. With a band of freebooters he ravaged the country, razed to the ground the strong holds and castles, and by every act of hostility provoked a war.

LXV. To keep things, which were once settled, in the same unaltered state, was the principal care that occupied the anxious spirit of Tiberius. He despatched a centurion to restrain the Thracian kings from an open rupture. Cotys disbanded his forces. Rhescuporis resolved to act with craft and subtlety. He proposed a conference which, he had no doubt, would terminate all their differences. The time and place were fixed: a negotiation was opened, both princes seeming willing to remove all difficulties. Cotys brought to the meeting a conciliating spirit; the uncle meditated a stroke of perfidy. To ratify the preliminaries, he proposed a banquet. The parties met, and protracted their festivity to a late hour of the night. Amidst the joys of wine, and in the moment of revelry, Rhescuporis attacked his nephew, unsuspecting and unprovided. The deluded prince urged in vain the rights of kings, the laws of hospitality, and the gods of their forefathers. He was loaded with irons. His treacherous uncle made himself master of all Thrace; and immediately sent despatches to inform Tiberius that a dangerous conspiracy against his life had been defeated by timely vigilance. In the mean time, under colour of an enterprise against the Basternians and the Scythians, he made levies of horse and foot, determined, at all events, to be prepared for a defensive war.

LXVI. Tiberius returned for answer, that his conduct, if found to be free from reproach, would be his best protection; but neither the senate nor the em-

peror could prejudice the cause: the guilt or the innocence of men must arise out of the facts. He added, that Rhescuporis would do well to release his nephew, and make the best of his way to Rome, in order to fix the criminality where it ought to fall. A letter to this effect from the emperor was forwarded to the Thracian king of Latinus Pandus, prætor of Mysia. A band of soldiers went at the same time, to demand that Cotys should be delivered into their custody. Rhescuporis, divided between hope and fear, fluctuated for some time: he choose, at length, rather to answer for an actual crime, than for the bare intention. He murdered Cotys, and spread a report that he died by his own hand. Tiberius heard the news without emotion, determined still to pursue his plan of fraud and treachery. Latinus Pandus died in the interval. Rhescuporis had always represented him as his inveterate enemy, but the government of Mysia being now vacant, Tiberius gave the administration of the province to Pomponius Flaccus, a man of military experience, and upon the best terms with Rhescuporis. A friend, he knew, might prove in the end the most fatal enemy. That consideration determined his choice.

LXVII. Flaccus, without loss of time, arrived in Thrace. He found Rhescuporis in a state of violent agitation, conscious of his guilt, and overwhelmed with doubt and fear. He soothed him with gracious words, and by plausible promises inveigled him to hazard his person within the lines of a Roman garrison. Pretending there to do honour to the prince, he appointed a guard to attend him. The tribunes and centurions enticed him to go forward under their protection; till having drawn him a considerable way, they avowed their purpose, and Rhescuporis found that he was a prisoner in close custody. He was conducted to Rome, where the widow of Cotys accused him before the senate. His guilt was manifest: the senate decreed that he should pass the remainder of his days at a distance from his dominions. The kingdom of Thrace was once more divided. Rhæmetaces, son of the deposed king, and always adverse

to his father's measures, had a portion of the realm; the rest was granted to the son of Cotys, then under age. During their minority, Trebellienus Rufus, of prætorian rank, undertook the government of the kingdom in trust for the heir of Cotys, according to the precedent of former times, when the senate sent Marcus Lepidus to administer the affairs of Egypt in the capacity of regent and guardian to the children of Ptolemy. Rhescuporis was conveyed to Alexandria; and there attempting to make his escape, or perhaps unjustly charged with that design, he was seized and put to death.

LXVIII. About the same time Vonones, who, as has been mentioned, was detained in Cilicia, made a like attempt, but with no better success. Having corrupted the guards, he intended to push his way into Armenia, and thence to the Albanians and Heniochians, flattering himself that he should be able to penetrate into Scythia, and there obtain protection from the reigning king, who was his near relation. With this intent he went on a hunting party; and, having watched his opportunity, betook himself to flight. Turning off from the sea-coast he struck into the woods, and rode at full speed towards the river Pyramus. The inhabitants, on the first alarm, demolished the bridges. The river was not fordable. Vonones was found wandering along the banks, and by order of Vibius Fronto, the commander of the cavalry, loaded with fetters. He did not long survive. Remnius, a resumed veteran, had been entrusted with the custody of his person. This man, in a sudden transport of pretended passion, drew his sword and ran the unhappy prince through the body. The secret cause of this violent act cannot now be ascertained: the general opinion was, that the soldier had been bribed to favour the king's escape, and, rather than be detected as an accomplice, choose to be an assassin.

LXIX. Germanicus, on his return from Egypt, found all his regulations, in the civil as well as the military line, totally abolished, or changed to a system directly contrary to his intentions. Hence a new

source of dissension. He condemned the conduct of Piso; and in return met with nothing but contumacy, and a spirit of opposition to all his measures. Piso was at length determined to evacuate Syria: hearing, however, that Germanicus was attacked by a sudden illness, he changed his resolution. He had soon after the mortification of learning that the disorder was abated. At Antioch the news diffused a general joy. The people of that place had offered vows for the recovery of the prince: and, having obtained the object of their wishes, began by solemn rites to discharge the obligations which they had imposed upon themselves. Enraged at this proceeding, Piso interrupted the ceremonies; by his lictors he drove the victims from the altars; he spread terror and confusion through the temples, and dispersed the congregation. After this exploit he withdrew to Seleucia. At that place, having advice that Germanicus was relapsed, he resolved to make some stay, in expectation of the event. The prince suspected that poison had been secretly conveyed by Piso, and that idea added to the malignity of his disorder.

A discovery was made of a singular nature. Under the floor, and in the cavities of the walls, a collection of human bones was found, with charms, and magic verses, and incantations. The name of Germanicus was graved on plates of lead; fragments of human bodies, not quite consumed to ashes, were discovered in a putrid condition; with a variety of those magic spells, which, according to the vulgar opinion, are of potency to devote the souls of the living to the infernal gods. Amidst the confusion occasioned by these extraordinary circumstances, messengers were sent by Piso to inquire after the health of Germanicus; but those men were considered as spies, who came to watch for intelligence.

LXX. Germanicus was informed of all that passed. Fear and indignation took possession of him by turns. "If my doors," he said, "are to be besieged by my enemies; if interlopers are to see me at the point of expiration, what is the prospect that my wife has before her? and what are my children to expect?"

“The poison is too slow in its operation for the wishes of my enemies; they want to hasten its effect; and the impatience of Piso has already swallowed up the province, with the command of the legions. But Germanicus is not yet deserted by all; his enemies may still have reason to repent; and the murderer will find that he has not long to enjoy the wages of his guilt.” In this temper of mind he wrote a letter to Piso, in express terms disclaiming all friendship and connexion with him: as some will have it, he commanded him to depart from the province. Piso, in fact, did not linger at Seleucia: he embarked immediately, but slackened his course; still willing to hover near the coast, in hopes that the death of Germanicus would leave the province open to his ambition.

LXXI. The disorder intermitting for a short time, Germanicus had an interval of hope. But the fatal moment was approaching; he sunk into a mortal languor; and, finding himself near his end, took leave of his friends in words to the following effect: “Were I to die a natural death, yet, thus cut off in the bloom of life from my family, my children, and my country, I might think it hard, and call the gods severe in their dispensations. Falling, as I now do, a victim to the iniquity of Piso and his wife Plancina, I leave with you, my friends, the request of a dying man. You know the indignities that provoked me beyond all enduring; you know the snares that have been laid for me, and you see the anguish of heart that brings me prematurely to my grave: relate the whole to my father and my brother. The friends, whom prosperity connected with me; my relations, more closely united by the ties of blood, will hear the story with indignation: even envy, that never fails to persecute the living, will drop a tear over my remains. All will lament the fate of an unhappy prince, whom they saw flourishing in the smiles of fortune, a conqueror in so many battles, yet at last snatched away by the artifices of female malice. It will be yours to appeal to the senate; yours to invoke the vengeance of the laws; and

“yours to show your friendship, not by unavailing tears, but by executing my last commands. In that consists the noblest duty, the best tribute to the memory of the dead. Even strangers who never saw me will be touched with sympathy; and you, my friends, if I was ever dear to you, if you followed my person, and not my fortune, you will revenge my fall. Show to the Roman people my afflicted wife, the grand-daughter of Augustus: show my children, my six unhappy orphans. Compassion will be on the side of the prosecutors; and should my enemies attempt to screen themselves by pleading secret orders, mankind will either not believe them, or believing, will not forgive them.” The friends of the dying prince clasped his hands, and bound themselves by a solemn oath to revenge his death, or perish in the attempt.

LXXII. Germanicus turning to his wife, and fixing his eyes upon her, earnestly conjured her by the memory of her husband, and by their mutual children, to abate from the pride and fierceness of her disposition. To bend to the stroke of adversity, and at her return to Rome not to provoke by vain competition the resentment of enemies too high in power, was all that was now left.—Thus far with an audible voice: he then whispered a secret caution, which was supposed to point at the malignity of Tiberius. In a short time after he breathed his last. The provinces lamented their loss; he was honoured by kings, and regretted by the neighbouring nations: such was his equal behaviour to the allies of Rome, and such the humanity that endeared him even to the enemy. Graceful in his person, he charmed by his affability; beloved, when heard; admired, when only seen; and, in the highest elevation, great without arrogance, he maintained the dignity of his rank, yet never gave envy reason to repine at his success.

LXXIII. The funeral was plain and simple, without pomp or pageantry. No images were carried in the procession. Fond remembrance, and the praises due to virtue, were the best decorations. Between him and Alexander men formed a parallel: his time of

life, the graces of his person, the manner of his death, and the small distance between the places where both expired, gave room for the comparison. Both, it was observed, were of a comely form; both of illustrious birth; neither of them much exceeding the thirtieth year of his age; and both died in a foreign land, cut off by domestic treachery. But Germanicus had qualities peculiar to himself: he was mild and gracious to his friends, in his pleasures temperate, an affectionate husband, and by one wife the father of a numerous issue. Nor was his military character any way inferior: he had the bravery of Alexander, without his rashness; and, if he had not been recalled from Germany, where he gained so many signal victories, the entire conquest of that country had crowned his operations with immortal glory. The power of the state was never in his hands. Had he possessed the sole authority, with the royal title, and the prerogative of a prince, the progress of his arms would have made him equal to the conqueror of Darius; while, on the side of virtue, his clemency, his moderation, his temperance, and other amiable qualities, gave him a decided superiority. The body lay in state in the forum at Antioch, where the funeral ceremony was performed. Whether any symptoms of poison were discovered, is uncertain. The people were divided into opposite parties, and their opinions varied accordingly. Some lamented a deceased prince, and, in minds so prepossessed, suspicion amounted to proof; others warped into the interests of Piso; and all pronounced according to the bias of their inclinations.

LXXIV. In this juncture, who was the fit person to govern the province, became the subject of debate. A council for this purpose was held by the commanders of the legions, and all of senatorian rank, then on the spot. A number of candidates appeared. After a short struggle, the contest lay between Vibius Marsus and Cneius Sentius. The question hung for some time in suspense. Marsus at length withdrew his pretensions; willing to yield to a senior officer, who showed himself ambitious of the honour. The first step of the new governor was to send to Rome a

woman of the name of Martina, well known throughout the province for her practices in the trade of poisoning, and also for her intimacy with Plancina. This measure was adopted at the request of Vitellius, Veranius, and a number of others, who were then actually busy in collecting evidence, and in preparing the charge with as much assiduity, as if the prosecution had been already commenced in due form of law.

LXXV. Meanwhile Agrippina, pierced to the heart and her health impaired by affliction, resolved, notwithstanding, to surmount every obstacle that might retard the hand of justice. She embarked for Italy with the ashes of Germanicus, and her orphan children. All eyes beheld her with compassion; all were grieved that a woman of the highest distinction, so lately happy with the best of men, and in the splendour of a court seen with a universal homage, should undertake a melancholy voyage, with the urn of him she loved, not sure of a just revenge, alarmed for herself, and by the fruitfulness of her marriage bed exposed to calamities yet unknown. Piso was at the isle of Coos. He there received advice that Germanicus was no more. Transported with joy beyond all bounds, he hastened to the temples, and offered victims as a public thanksgiving. Plancina was still more extravagant: she laid aside her mourning for a deceased sister, to celebrate in her gayest apparel an event so grateful to her heart.

LXXVI. The centurions flocked in crowds to Piso, assuring him that the legions were devoted to his service, and for that reason exhorted him to resume a command unjustly taken from him. Piso called a council of his friends: his son, Marcus Piso, was for his returning to Rome without delay. "What had been done, might well be justified: suspicions, unsupported by proof, would soon evaporate; and vague reports were of no moment. The long contention with Germanicus might perhaps be censured: it was unpopular, but could not amount to a crime. Piso had lost his government, and by that circumstance the rage of his enemies would be ap-

“peased. To return to Syria, were to enter into a
“civil war with Sentius. The centurions and soldiers
“were not to be trusted. The memory of Germani-
“cus was still recent: and that affection for the
“Cæsarian family, which had taken root in the minds
“of all, would operate throughout the army.”

LXXVII. Domitius Celer, the intimate friend of
Piso, was of a contrary opinion. “The opportunity,”
he said, “should be seized without delay. Piso, and
“not Sentius, was the legal governor of Syria: the
“prætorian jurisdiction, the ensigns of magistracy,
“and the command of the legions, were committed
“to his care. If the sword must be drawn, who had
“so much right on his side as the person who receiv-
“ed his commission from the emperor? Public ru-
“mour should not be too soon encountered. Give
“the report of the day time to grow stale, and it dies
“of itself. In the first heat of prejudice, innocence
“itself has often fallen a victim to popular clamour.
“If Piso, at the head of an army, stood at bay with
“his enemies, new emergencies, which no wisdom
“could foresee, might unexpectedly assist his cause.
“Why should he hasten to the capital? Was it his
“interest to enter Rome with Agrippina bearing the
“urn of Germanicus? Did he mean, unheard and
“undefended, to try the effect of female lamentation,
“or to be hurried to execution by the fury of a licen-
“tious rabble? Livia, it is true, is of your party, and
“Tiberius will favour you; but both will act in se-
“cret: and, in fact, none will grieve for Germanicus
“with so much ostentation of sorrow, as they who,
“in their hearts rejoice at the event.”

LXXVIII. The turbulent genius of Piso was easily
satisfied with this reasoning. He despatched letters
to Tiberius, charging Germanicus with pride and
luxury; and farther complaining, that, with views
of ambition, he had driven out of Syria the lawful
governor, duly appointed by the emperor. That go-
vernor, he added, would now resume the command;
and, by a faithful discharge of so important a trust,
demonstrate his zeal for the public service. Thus de-
termined, he ordered Domitius to sail for Syria: keep-

ing as much as possible in the open sea, without touching at any of the islands, or approaching too near to the main land. Meanwhile, deserters crowded in from all quarters. Piso formed them into companies; he armed the lowest followers of the army, and with this hasty levy embarked for the continent. He had not long been landed, when a body of recruits, marching to the legions in Syria, fell in his way. He drew them over to his party, and by circular letters demanded succours from the petty kings of Cilicia. The younger Piso, though he had objected to the measure, was not inactive in his father's service.

LXXIX. Piso's fleet, and that which conveyed Agrippina, met near the coast of Lycia and Pamphilia. They beheld each other with animosity. Both parties were eager to come to action; but they passed each other, content with throwing out reproaches and opprobrious language. Vibius Marsus summoned Piso "to appear at Rome, and stand his trial." Piso answered with derision, "that he would be sure to attend, when the prætor, vested with jurisdiction in matters of poison, had cited the parties, and appointed a day." Meanwhile Domitius, who had landed at Laodicea, in the province of Syria, advanced towards the winter-quarters of the sixth legion; expecting in that corps, to find the minds of the men ripe for mutiny and desertion. By the vigilance of Pacuvius, who commanded in those parts, the attempt was frustrated. Sentius, by letters to Piso, complained of these proceedings; at the same time warning him neither to corrupt the army nor disturb the peace of the province. His next care was to draught from the legions all such soldiers as were known to be attached to Germanicus, or adverse to his enemies. He represented the attempts of Piso, as an invasion of the imperial dignity, and a war against the commonwealth. Having excited the ardour of his men, he marched into Cilicia, prepared to decide the dispute by force of arms.

LXXX. Piso found himself pressed on every side, and yet was determined not to abandon his enterprise. He seized a strong hold in Cilicia, called the castle of

Celendris. With a body of deserters, incorporated with the recruits lately intercepted, and the auxiliaries sent by the kings of Cilicia, he threw himself into the place, resolved to hold out to the last. To his forces he added his own slaves, and those of Plancina, forming altogether a number equal to a legion. To excite their courage, he complained aloud that he, the governor appointed by Tiberius, was driven out of the province, not by the legions (for they invited him to return) but by Sentius, who, with the specious colour of public motives, varnished over his own private animosity. He told his troops, that they had only to show themselves in force, and the affair would be decided. The soldiers of the adverse party, at the sight of Piso, whom they hailed the father of the legions, would lay down their arms and submit to the man who not only had justice on his side, but if necessary, courage and resolution to maintain his rights. Having thus exhorted his people, he drew them out before the walls of the castle, on the summit of a craggy hill. The place was every where else surrounded by the sea. The veterans, under Sentius, advanced in regular order. A body of reserve followed to support them. On one side were seen skill and bravery: on the other, nothing but the advantage of the ground; no courage to incite; no hope to animate; and no warlike weapons, but only such rustic tools as the men were able to snatch up in the first tumult of a dangerous enterprise. An engagement followed; but the victory was no longer in suspense, than while the Romans were employed in forcing their way up the ascent of the hill. The steep being surmounted, the Cilicians fled for shelter to their fortifications.

LXXXI. The fleet under the command of Sentius lay at anchor under the walls of Celendris. Piso made a sally, with intent to seize the ships. Being repulsed, he showed himself before the works of the castle; he complained of cruel injustice, and tried by the force of pathetic language to soften the legions in his favour; he called upon individuals by name, and by ample promises hoped to raise a spirit of sedition. His success was such, that an eagle-bearer of the

sixth legion deserted to him with his standard. Sentius resolved to carry the place by assault. The signal for the charge was given; scaling ladders were advanced to the walls; the foremost in courage began to mount to the top of the work; while an incessant volley of darts, and stones, and flaming brands, was poured in upon the garrison. Piso desired to capitulate. He offered to lay down his arms, upon condition that he should remain in the castle till the emperor's pleasure touching the government of the province should be finally declared. The proposition was rejected. Sentius allowed him safe conduct to Italy, and shipping for his passage: no other terms were granted.

LXXXII. The indisposition of Germanicus was known at Rome some time before his death. The news, like all distant intelligence, increased every moment, and bad was made worse by exaggeration. Grief and loud complaints filled every quarter of the city. "Was it for this, that Germanicus was sent to distant regions? For this, was the province of Syria assigned to Piso? This is the consequence of private interviews between Livia and Plancina! When Drusus, the father of Germanicus, died, it was observed by men of reflection, and observed with truth, that if the son of a despotic prince is the friend of civil liberty, his father never forgives his virtues. It was for this that Drusus and Germanicus were snatched away from the Roman people. They intended to restore the old constitution, and they perished in the cause." Such were the sentiments that prevailed at Rome. The fatal news at length arrived. In that moment the passions of men knew no bounds. Without waiting for an edict of the magistrates, or a decree of the senate, a cessation of all business took place; the courts of justice were deserted; houses were shut up; shrieks and groans burst out, and at intervals a deep and awful silence followed.

A general mourning covered the face of the city. The exterior forms of grief were observed, but the anguish of the heart surpassed all outward show. It

happened, before Germanicus expired, that certain traders from Syria arrived at Rome with favourable accounts. What was wished, was easily believed. The news spread with rapidity; he who heard imperfectly made his report with additions; others did the same: and thus the story went on, gathering strength from mouth to mouth, and diffusing universal joy. The populace ran wild through the streets; they threw open the gates of the temples; night came on; the hurry still continued; assertion grew more confident in the dark, and credulity listened with a greedy ear. Tiberius saw the delusion, but calmly left it to its own futility. Time disclosed the truth; the people renewed their sorrow with redoubled violence, as if the prince had been torn from them a second time.

LXXXIII. The senate met to decree honours to his memory. Friendship put itself to the stretch, and men of talents exhausted their invention. It was voted that the name of Germanicus should be inserted in the Salian hymn; that a curule chair, adorned with a civic crown, should be placed in the college of Augustan priests; that his statue, wrought in ivory, should be carried in the procession of the Circensian games; and that the vacancy made by his death in the list of flamens and augurs, should be filled from the Julian family only. Triumphal arches were ordered to be erected at Rome, on the Rhine, and mount Amanus in Syria, with inscriptions setting forth the splendour of his actions, and, in direct terms, declaring that he died in the service of his country. At Antioch, where his remains were burnt, a mausoleum was ordered; and at Epidaphne, where he died, a tribunal in honour of his memory. Of the several statues, and the places where they were to be worshipped, it would be difficult to give a regular catalogue. It was farther proposed that a shield of pure gold, exceeding the ordinary size, should be dedicated to him in the place allotted to orators of distinguished eloquence. Tiberius overruled the motion, declaring his intention to order one of the common size, and the usual metal. Superior rank, he said, did not confer superior eloquence. A place among the great writers

of antiquity would be sufficient honour. The equestrian order came to a resolution, that the troop called the youthful squadron should for the future take its name from Germanicus; and that his image should be carried at the head of their annual cavalcade, on the ides of July. Of these several institutions, many are still subsisting; some fell into disuse; and others by length of time have been abolished.

LXXXIV. While the tears of the public still flowed for Germanicus, Livia, the sister of that prince, and the wife of Drusus, was delivered of two sons at a birth. In families of inferior rank, events of this kind are rare, and always matter of joy. Tiberius was transported beyond measure. He had the vanity to boast before the senate, that so singular a blessing had never happened to any Roman of equal dignity. It was the policy of that subtle spirit to extract from every occurrence, and even from chance, something that tended to his own glory. The people, however, did not sympathize with the emperor. They saw, with regret, the family of Drusus increasing, and that of Germanicus in danger of being eclipsed.

LXXXV. In the course of this year, several decrees against the licentiousness of female manners passed the senate. It was ordained by a law, that no woman whose grandfather, father or husband was a Roman knight, should be allowed to make her person venal. The profligacy of Vistilia, descended from a father of prætorian rank, gave rise to this regulation. She presented herself before the ædiles, and in form made a public profession of lewdness, according to the rule established in ancient times, when women, registered as harlots by the magistrate, had the privilege of leading a life of debauchery. The principle of that law was, that the very act of professing the character of a prostitute would be a punishment, and perhaps operate as a restraint. Titideus Labeo, the husband of Vistilia, was cited to assign a reason why so abandoned a woman had not been brought to condign punishment. To exculpate himself, he alleged that the sixty days, allowed by law for the consultations necessary in matters of that nature, were not elapsed.

Satisfied with the answer, the fathers thought it sufficient to proceed against the adultress. She was banished to the isle of Seriphos. The Egyptian and Jewish ceremonies were the next subject of debate. By a decree of the senate, four thousand of that description, the descendants of enfranchised slaves, all infected with foreign superstition, and of age to carry arms, were transported to the island of Sardinia, to make war upon the freebooters, who plundered the inhabitants, and ravaged the country. If the whole number died in that unwholesome climate, the loss, it was said, would be of no kind of moment. The remaining sectaries were ordered, at a certain day, to depart out of Italy, unless before that time they renounced their impious worship.

LXXXVI. The choice of a vestal virgin, in the room of Occia, who had been, with the greatest sanctity of manners, president of the order during the space of seven-and-fifty years, was by Tiberius referred to the senate. Fonteius Agrippa, and Domitius Pollio, made each of them an offer of his daughter. The emperor commended their zeal for the public service. The daughter of Pollio was preferred. Her mother had never known but one husband, and, still continuing to live with him, gave an example of conjugal fidelity; whereas the divorce of Agrippa was considered as a blemish in the family. That reason, and that only, determined the present choice. The repulse of the disappointed candidate was softened by a present of a thousand great sesterces, granted by Tiberius.

LXXXVII. To appease the clamours of the people about the exorbitant price of corn, the sum to be paid by the purchaser was ascertained, Tiberius undertaking to grant a bounty of two sesterces on the measure, as an encouragement to the vendor. On this, as on former occasions, he refused the title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. He even censured, with a degree of asperity, the zeal of those who gave him the appellation of LORD AND MASTER, and wanted to dignify his administration with the epithet of DIVINE. In this manner, eloquence was confined within nar-

row limits. What topic could be safely handled? The emperor was the enemy of civil liberty, and he detested flattery.

LXXXVIII. In the memoirs of some of the senators of that day, and also in the works of contemporary writers, mention, I find, is made of letters from Adgandestrius, prince of the Cattians, which were read in the senate. They contained a proposal to despatch Arminius, provided poison for that purpose were sent from Rome. The answer was magnanimous: the German was told that the Roman people were in the habit of waging war, not by fraud and covert stratagem, but sword in hand, and in the field of battle. In this instance, Tiberius vied with the generals of ancient Rome, who with scorn rejected the scheme of poisoning Pyrrhus, and even delivered up the traitor who harboured that base design.

Arminius, however, did not long survive. The Roman army being withdrawn from Germany, and Maroboduus ruined, he had the ambition to aim at the sovereign power. The independent spirit of his countrymen declared against him. A civil war ensued. Arminius fought with alternate vicissitudes of fortune, and fell at last by the treachery of his own relations: a man of warlike genius, and, beyond all question, the deliverer of Germany. He had not, like the kings and generals of a former day, the infancy of Rome to cope with; he had to struggle with a great and flourishing empire; he attacked the Romans in the meridian of their glory. He stood at bay for a number of years with equivocal success; sometimes victorious, often defeated, but in the issue of the war still unconquered. He died at the age of seven-and-thirty, after twelve years of fame and power. In the rude poetry of the barbarians, his name is celebrated to this hour; unknown indeed to the annalists of Greece, who embellish nothing but their own story. Even amongst the Romans, the character of this illustrious chief has met with little justice, absorbed as the people are in their veneration of antiquity, while to the virtue of their own times they remain insensible and incurious.

THE
ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK III.

I. AGRIPPINA pursued her voyage without intermission. Neither the rigour of the winter, nor the rough navigation in that season of the year, could alter her resolution. She arrived at the island of Corcyra, opposite to the coast of Calabria. At that place she remained a few days, to appease the agitations of a mind pierced to the quick, and not yet taught in the school of affliction to submit with patience. The news of her arrival spreading far and wide, the intimate friends of the family, and most of the officers who had served under Germanicus, with a number of strangers from the municipal towns, some to pay their court, others carried along with the current, pressed forward in crowds to the city of Brundisium, the nearest and most convenient port. As soon as the fleet came in sight of the harbour, the sea-coast, the walls of the city, the tops of the houses, and every place that gave even a distant view, were crowded with spectators. Compassion throbbed in every breast. In the hurry of their first emotions, men knew not what part to act: should they receive her with acclamations? or would silence best suit the occasion? Nothing was settled. The fleet entered the harbour, not with the alacrity usual among mariners, but with a slow and solemn sound of the oar, impressing deeper melancholy on every heart.

Agrippina came forth, leading two of her children, with the urn of Germanicus in her hand, and her eyes steadfastly fixed upon that precious object. A general groan was heard. Men and women, relations and strangers, all joined in one promiscuous scene of

sorrow, varied only by the contrast between the attendants of Agrippina, and those who now received the first impression. The former appeared with a languid air; while the latter, yielding to the sensation of the moment, broke out with all the vehemence of recent grief.

II. Tiberius had ordered to Brundisium two prætorian cohorts. The magistrates of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, had it in command to pay every mark of honour to the memory of the emperor's son. The urn was borne on the shoulders of the centurions and tribunes, preceded by the colours, not displayed with military pomp, but drooping in disorder, with all the negligence of grief. The fasces were inverted. In the colonies through which they passed, the populace in mourning, and the knights in their purple robes, threw into the flames rich perfumes, spices and garments, with other funeral offerings, according to the ability of the place. Even from distant towns the people came in crowds to meet the procession; they presented victims; they erected altars to the gods of departed souls, and by their lamentations marked their sense of the public calamity. Drusus advanced as far as Terracina, accompanied by Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, and the children of the deceased prince that had been left at Rome. The consuls, Marcus Valerius Messala, and Marcus Aurelius Cotta, who a little before had entered on their magistracy, with the whole senate, and a numerous body of citizens, went out to meet the melancholy train. The road was crowded; no order kept, no regular procession; they walked, and wept, as inclination prompted. Flattery had no share in the business: where the court rejoiced in secret, men could not weep themselves into favour. Tiberius indeed dissembled, but he could not deceive. Through the thin disguise the malignant heart was seen.

III. Neither the emperor nor his mother appeared in public. They imagined, perhaps, that to be seen in a state of affliction might derogate from their dignity; or, the better reason was, that a number of prying eyes might unmask their inmost sentiments.

It does not appear, either in the historians of the time, or in the public journals, that Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, took any part in the funeral ceremony. Agrippina, Drusus, Claudius, and the rest of the prince's relations, are registered by name; but of Antonia no mention is made. She was probably hindered from attending by want of health, or the sensibility of a mother might be unequal to so severe a trial. To speak my own opinion, I am inclined to believe that nothing but the emperor and his mother could restrain her from the last human office to her son. If all three absented themselves, equal affliction might be inferred; and the uncle and grandmother might be supposed to find a precedent in the conduct of the mother.

IV. The day on which the remains of Germanicus were deposited in the tomb of Augustus, was remarkable for sorrow in various shapes. A deep and mournful silence prevailed, as if Rome was become a desert; and, at intervals, the general groan of a distracted multitude broke forth at once. The streets were crowded: the Field of Mars glittered with torches: the soldiers were under arms; the magistrates appeared without the ensigns of their authority; and the people stood ranged in their several tribes. All, with one voice, despaired of the commonwealth; they spoke their minds without reserve, in the anguish of their hearts forgetting the master that reigned over them. Nothing, however, touched Tiberius so near, as the decided affection of the people for Agrippina, who was styled the ornament of her country, the only blood of Augustus, and the last remaining model of ancient manners. With hands upraised, the people invoked the gods, imploring them to protect the children of Germanicus from the malice of pernicious enemies.

V. There were at that time men of reflection who thought the whole of the ceremony short of that funeral pomp which the occasion required. The magnificence displayed in honour of Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was put in contrast to the present frugality. "Augustus, in the depth of winter, went as

“far as Ticinum to meet the body; and, never quit-
“ting it afterwards, entered the city in the public pro-
“cession. The bier was decorated with the images of
“the Claudian and the Livian families: tears were
“shed in the forum; a funeral oration was delivered
“from the rostrum; and every honour, as well of an-
“cient as of modern invention, was offered to the me-
“mory of the deceased. How different was the case
“at present! Even the distinctions usually granted
“to persons of illustrious rank, were refused to Ger-
“manicus. The body was committed to the funeral
“pile in a foreign land; that was an act of necessity;
“but, to compensate for the first deficiency, too much
“could not be done. One day’s journey was all that
“a brother performed. The uncle did not so much
“as go to the city-gate. Where now the usage of
“ancient times? Where the bed on which the image
“of the deceased lay in state? Where the verses in
“honour of departed virtue? Where the funeral pane-
“gyric, and the tear that embalms the dead? If real
“tears were not ready to gush, where, at least, were
“the forms of grief? and where the decency of pre-
“tended sorrow?”

VI. Tiberius was not ignorant of what passed. To
appease the murmurs of the people, he issued a pro-
clamation, in which it was observed, “that eminent
“men had at various times fallen in the service of
“their country, though none were so sincerely lament-
“ed as Germanicus. The regret shown on the pre-
“sent occasion, did honour to the virtue of the people,
“and the imperial dignity; but grief must have its
“bounds. That which might be proper in private
“families, or in petty states, would ill become the
“grandeur of a people who gave laws to the world.
“Recent affliction must have its course. The heart
“overflows, and in that discharge finds its best relief.
“It is now time to act with fortitude. Julius Cæsar
“lost an only daughter; Augustus saw his grandsons
“prematurely snatched away; but their grief was in-
“ward only. They bore the stroke of affliction with
“silent dignity. If the authority of ancient times
“were requisite, conjunctures might be mentioned,

“in which the Roman people saw, with unshaken constancy, the loss of their generals, the overthrow of their armies, and the destruction of the noblest families.” Whatever may be the fate of noble families, the commonwealth is immortal. Let all resume their former occupations; and, since the Magalensian games were near at hand, let the diversions of the season assuage the general sorrow.”

VII. The vacation from public business, was now concluded. The people returned to their ordinary functions, and Drusus set out for the army in Illyricum. At Rome, in the mean time, all were impatient to see Piso brought to justice. That an offender of such magnitude should be suffered to roam at large through the delightful regions of Asia and Achaia, roused the general indignation. By such contumacy the law was eluded, and the evidence was growing weaker every day. The fact was, Martina, that notorious dealer in poison, whom Sentius, as has been mentioned, ordered to be conveyed to Rome, died suddenly at Brundisium. Poison is said to have been found in the tangles of her hair, but no trace of suicide appeared on any part of her body.

VIII. Piso, taking his measures in time, sent his son to Rome with instructions to prepossess the emperor in his favour. He went himself to seek an interview with Drusus; persuaded that he should find the prince not so much exasperated at the loss of a brother, as pleased with an event that delivered him from a rival. The son arrived at Rome. Tiberius, to show that nothing was prejudged, gave the youth a gracious reception; adding the presents usually bestowed on persons of rank on their return from the provinces. Drusus saw the elder Piso, and frankly told him, that if what was rumoured abroad appeared to be founded in truth, the charge demanded his keenest resentment; but he rather hoped to find the whole unsupported by proof, that no man might deserve to suffer for the death of Germanicus. This answer was given in public; no private audience was admitted. The prince, it was generally believed, had his lesson from Tiberius; it being improbable that a

young man of a free and open disposition, unhackneyed in the ways of business, could have acted with that guarded reserve, which marked the veteran in politics.

IX. Piso crossed the gulf of Dalmatia, and, leaving his ships at Ancona, went forward to Picenum. From that place he pursued his journey on the Flaminian road, and on his way met a legion marching from Pannonia to Rome, in order to proceed from thence to serve in Africa. This incident was variously canvassed by the people. A criminal, it was said, presumes to join the soldiers on their march, and even waylays them at their quarters, to curry favour with his military friends. Piso heard of these complaints, and, to avoid suspicion, or because it is the nature of guilt to be always wavering and irresolute, at Narni he embarked on the Nar, and, sailing down the Tiber, landed on the Field of Mars, near the tomb of the Cæsars. This was another cause of popular discontent: in open day, amidst a crowd of spectators, he and his wife Plancina made their appearance; the former surrounded by a tribe of clients, and the latter by a train of female attendants; all with an air of gayety, bold, erect, and confident. Piso's house overlooked the forum; preparations were made for a sumptuous entertainment; the scene was adorned with splendid decorations: and, from the nature of the situation, nothing could remain a secret. The whole was exposed to the public eye.

X. On the following day Fulcinius Trio exhibited an accusation before the consuls. To this proceeding Vitellius, Veranius and others, who had attended Germanicus into Asia, made strong objections; alleging that Trio had not so much as a colour to entitle him to the conduct of the prosecution. As to themselves they did not mean to stand forth as accusers; but they had the last commands of Germanicus, and to the facts within their knowledge intended to appear as witnesses. Trio waved his pretensions, but still claimed a right to prosecute for former misdemeanors. That liberty was allowed. Application was made to the emperor, that the cause might be

heard before himself. The request was perfectly agreeable to the accused party, who was not to learn that the senate and the people were prejudiced against him. Tiberius, he knew, was firm enough to resist popular clamour; and in conjunction with Livia, had acted an underhand part in the business. Besides this, the truth, he thought, would be better investigated before a single judge, than in a mixed assembly, where intrigue and party violence too often prevailed. Tiberius, however, saw the importance of the cause, and felt the imputations thrown out against himself. To avoid a situation so nice and difficult, he consented to hear, in the presence of a few select friends, the heads of the charge, with the answers of the defendant; and then referred the whole to the consideration of the senate.

XI. During these transactions, Drusus returned from Illyricum. For the captivity of Maroboduus, and the prosperous events of the preceding summer an ovation had been decreed by the senate; but he chose to postpone that honour, and entered the city as a private man. Piso moved that Titus Arruntius, T. Vinicius, Asinius Gallus, Æsernius Marcellus, and Sextus Pompeius, might be assigned as advocates to defend his cause. Under different pretexts they all excused themselves; and in their room, Marcus Lepidus, Lucius Piso, and Livineius Regulus, were appointed. The whole city was big with expectation. It remained to be seen how far the friends of Germanicus would act with firmness; what resources Piso had left, and whether Tiberius would speak his mind, or continue as usual, dark and impenetrable. No juncture had ever occurred in which the people were so warmly interested; none, when in private discourse men made such bitter reflections, and none, when suspicion harboured such gloomy apprehensions.

XII. At the next meeting of the senate, Tiberius, in a premeditated speech, explained his sentiments. "Piso," he observed, "had been the friend and chosen lieutenant of Augustus; and was lately named with the approbation of the senate, to assist Germanicus

“in the administration of the eastern provinces.
“Whether in that station, he had made it his business,
“by arrogance and by a contentious spirit to exas-
“perate the prince; whether he rejoiced at his death;
“and, above all, whether he was accessory to it; were
“questions that called for a strict but fair inquiry.
“If he, who was only second in command, exceeded
“the limits of his commission, regardless of the duty
“which he owed to his superior officer; if he beheld
“the death of Germanicus, and the loss which I have
“suffered, with unnatural, with fell delight; from that
“moment he becomes the object of my fixed aver-
“sion; I forbid him to enter my palace; he is my
“own personal enemy. But the emperor must not
“revenge the private quarrels of Tiberius. Should
“murder be brought home to him, a crime of that
“magnitude, which in the cause of the meanest citi-
“zen calls aloud for vengeance, is not to be forgiven;
“it will be yours, conscript fathers, to administer con-
“solation to the children of Germanicus; it will be
“yours to assuage the sorrows of an afflicted father,
“and a grandmother overwhelmed with grief.

“In the course of the inquiry, it will be material
“to know whether Piso endeavoured, with a seditious
“spirit, to incite the army to a revolt. Did he try
“by sinister arts to seduce the affections of the sol-
“diers? Was his sword drawn to recover possession
“of the province? Are these things true, or are they
“the mere suggestions of the prosecutors with intent
“to aggravate the charge? Their zeal, it must be
“owned, has been intemperate. By laying the body
“naked at Antioch, and exposing it to public view,
“what good end could be answered? Why were fo-
“reign nations alarmed with a report of poison, when
“the fact is still problematical, and remains to be
“tried? I lament the loss of my son, and shall ever
“lament it; but, notwithstanding all my feelings, it is
“competent to the defendant to repel the charge; he
“is at liberty to bring forward whatever may tend to
“establish his innocence, and even to arraign the
“conduct of Germanicus, if any blame can be im-
“puted to him. It is not for me to abridge any part

“of the defence. My affections, it is true, are inter-
“woven with the cause: but you will not for that
“reason, take imputations for guilt, nor allegations
“for conclusive proof. And since either the ties
“of consanguinity, or motives of friendship, have en-
“gaged able advocates to patronize the party accused,
“let them exert their zeal, their talents, and their
“eloquence. In the same manner, I exhort the prose-
“cutors: let them act with the same constancy, with
“equal ardour. The only distinction which the pre-
“rogative of the prince can grant, is, that the cause
“shall be tried in this court, and not in the forum;
“in the presence of the senate, not before the common
“tribunals. In all things else let the forms of law
“be observed. The tears of Drusus, and my own
“afflictions, are foreign to the question; let no man
“regard our interest: throw it out of the case, and
“discard from your minds the little calumnies that
“may glance at myself.”

XIII. Two days were allowed to the prosecutors to support their charge, six to prepare the defence, and three for hearing it. Fulcinius Trio began. The ground he took was the avarice and tyranny, with which Piso conducted himself, during his administration in Spain. This was starting from a period too remote. Though convicted on that point, the defendant might still repel the present charge; and if acquitted, he might be guilty of higher crimes. Fulcinius was followed by Servæus, Veranius and Vitellius; all three exerting themselves with equal zeal, but the latter with superior eloquence. The points insisted upon were—“That Piso, incited by malice to
“Germanicus, and his own ambitious views, diffused
“a spirit of licentiousness through the Roman army.
“He corrupted the soldiery, and suffered the allies of
“Rome to be plundered with impunity. In conse-
“quence of those pernicious acts, the vile and profligate hailed him FATHER OF THE LEGIONS. But his
“conduct was hostile to all good men, and more directly to the friends of Germanicus. To fill the
“measure of his iniquity, he had recourse to magic
“arts, and the prince was destroyed by poison. Piso

“and his wife Plancina were known to have assisted
“in superstitious rites and impious sacrifices. And
“yet the prisoner did not stop there: he was guilty
“of rebellion; he appeared in arms against the state;
“and before he could be brought to justice as a citi-
“zen, he was conquered as an enemy.”

XIV. The defence in every article, except that which related to the crime of poison, was weak and ineffectual. The charge of debauching the soldiers by bribery, the rapacity of his creatures, and the insults offered to Germanicus, were stubborn facts, and could not be denied. The crime of poisoning seemed to be sufficiently answered. It was left on weak ground by the managers of the prosecution. All they had to urge in support of that article, was a bare allegation, that Piso, at an entertainment given by Germanicus, being placed on a couch above the prince, had contrived with his own hands to mingle poison with the victuals. An attempt of the kind, in the midst of servants not his own, under the eye of numbers, and in the very presence of Germanicus, seemed improbable, and indeed absurd. To refute it altogether, Piso made a tender of his slaves to be questioned on the rack, demanding, at the same time, that the domestics of Germanicus, who waited that day at table, should undergo the like examination. But nothing made an impression on the judges. For different reasons they were all implacable; Tiberius, on account of the war levied in Syria: the senators, from a full persuasion that treachery had a hand in the death of Germanicus. A motion was made for the production of all letters written to the criminal by Tiberius and Livia. This was opposed with vehemence, not only by Piso, but also by the emperor. The clamours of the populace, who surrounded the senate-house, were heard within doors. The cry was, if Piso escaped by the judgment of the fathers, he should die by the hands of the people. They had already seized his statues, and in their fury, dragged them to the place of execution called the Gemoniæ, with intent to break them into fragments. By order of Tiberius they were rescued out of their hands. Piso was conveyed home

in a litter, guarded by a tribune of the prætorian bands: but whether that officer was sent to protect him from the populace, or to see justice executed, was left to conjecture and vague reports.

XV. Plancina, no less than her husband, was an object of public detestation; but protected by court favour, she was thought to be out of the reach of her enemies. What Tiberius would do was uncertain. While she supposed herself involved in the fate of Piso, without a gleam of better hope, her language was that of a woman willing to share all chances with her husband, and, if he was doomed to fall, determined to perish with him. Having in the mean time, by the interest of Livia, obtained her pardon, she began to change her tone, and pursue a separate interest. Finding himself thus abandoned, Piso despaired of his cause. Without further struggle, he intended to resign himself to his fate; but, by the advice of his sons, he resumed his courage, and once more appeared before the senate. The prosecution was renewed with vigour; the fathers spoke in terms of acrimony; every thing was adverse; and the prisoner plainly saw that his fate was decided. In this distress nothing affected him so deeply as the behaviour of Tiberius, who sat in sullen silence, neither provoked to anger, nor softened by compassion, with his usual art stifling every emotion of the heart. Piso was conducted back to his house. He there wrote a few lines, in appearance preparing his defence for the ensuing day, and having sealed the paper, delivered it to one of his freedmen. The usual attentions to his person filled up his time, till, at a late hour of the night, his wife having left the room, he ordered the door to be made fast. In the morning he was found dead; his throat cut, and his sword lying near him on the ground.

XVI. I remember to have heard from men advanced in years, that a bundle of papers, not produced at the trial, was often seen in the hands of Piso, containing, as his friends attested, the letters of Tiberius, full of instructions hostile to Germanicus. These documents would have transferred the guilt to the emperor; but by the delusive promises of Sejanus, they

were all suppressed. It was also confidently said that Piso did not lay violent hands on himself, but died by the stroke of an assassin. For the truth of these assertions I do not mean to be answerable; I state the facts as I heard them related by men with whom I conversed in my youth; and the anecdotes of such men may be deemed worthy of attention.

Tiberius attended the next meeting of the senate. He there complained with seeming anxiety, that the death of Piso was intended to reflect dishonour on himself. He sent for the freedman, who had received the paper sealed up, as already stated, and inquired particularly about his master; how he passed the last of his days? and what happened in the course of the night? The man answered in some instances with caution, and in others off his guard. The emperor produced Piso's letter, and read it to the senate. It was nearly in the following words: "Oppressed by the
"malice of my enemies, and falling under a load of
"imputed guilt, without a friend to espouse the truth,
"or shelter innocence, I call the immortal gods to wit-
"ness, that to you, Cæsar, I have through life pre-
"served my faith inviolate. For your mother I have
"ever felt the sincerest veneration. I conjure you
"both to take my sons under your protection. Cneius
"Piso is innocent. Nothing that happened in Asia
"can be imputed to him, since he remained, during the
"whole time, at Rome. His brother Marcus, when I
"returned to the province of Syria, was strenuous
"against the measure. Would to heaven that I had
"yielded to the advice of a young man, and that my
"authority had not silenced all opposition. For him
"I offer my fervent prayers; let not the errors of the
"father bring down ruin on the son. If in the course
"of five-and-forty years I have been devoted to your
"service; if Augustus made me his colleague in the
"consulship; if the remembrance of our early friend-
"ship can now avail; by all those ties I implore your
"mercy for my unhappy son. It is the request of
"a dying father; the last I shall ever make." He
made no mention of Plancina.

XVII. Tiberius declared his opinion, that Marcus

Piso, being under the control of his father, ought not to be answerable for the civil war. He mentioned the regard due to an illustrious house, and even lamented the unhappy lot of the deceased, though brought upon him by misconduct. He spoke in favour of Plancina, but with an air of embarrassment, conscious of his own duplicity. The intercession of his mother was a colour for the part he acted; but thinking men were by no means satisfied. On the contrary, their hatred of Livia was more embittered than ever. They exclaimed without reserve, "Shall the grandmother admit to her presence a woman stained with the blood of her grandson? Shall she converse in familiar freedom with a murderess? Must she receive to her arms an abandoned woman, and by her influence rescue her from the vengeance of the senate? The laws protect the meanest citizen; but in the case of Germanicus they have lost their vigour. Vitellius and Veranius poured forth their eloquence in the cause of a prince cut off by treachery, while the emperor and his mother side with Plancina. That pernicious woman may now with impunity continue her trade of poisoning; she may practise her detestable arts on the life of Agrippina and her children; she may proceed in her iniquity, and, with the blood of an illustrious, but unhappy family, glut the rage of a dissembling uncle and a worthless grandmother." For two days together Rome was amused with a mock-trial of Plancina. Tiberius, in the mean time, exhorted Piso's sons to stand forth in defence of their mother. The charge was opened; the witnesses were examined, and the orators spared neither zeal nor eloquence in support of the prosecution: no reply was made; the wretched condition of a helpless woman began to operate on the feelings of the fathers, and prejudice was melted into pity. Aurelius Cotta, the consul, was the first that gave his vote according to a settled rule whenever the question was put by the emperor. The opinion of Cotta was, that the name of Piso should be rased out of the public registers: that part of his estate should be confiscated, and the rest granted

to Cneius Piso, upon condition that he changed the family name; and that his brother Marcus, divested of all civil honours, should be condemned to banishment for the space of ten years, with a sum, however, of fifty thousand great sesterces for his support. In deference to the solicitations of Livia, it was proposed to grant a free pardon to Plancina.

XVIII. This sentence, in many particulars, was mitigated by Tiberius. The family name, he said, ought not to be abolished, while that of Marc Antony, who appeared in arms against his country, as well as that of Julius Antonius, who by his intrigues dishonoured the house of Augustus, subsisted still, and figured in the Roman annals. Marcus Piso was left in possession of his civil dignities and his father's fortune. Avarice, as has been already observed, was not the passion of Tiberius. On this occasion, the disgrace incurred by the partiality shown to Plancina, softened his temper, and made him the more willing to extend his mercy to the son. Valerius Messalinus moved, that a golden statue might be erected in the temple of Mars the Avenger. An altar to Vengeance was proposed by Cæcina Severus. Both these motions were overruled by the emperor. The principle on which he argued was, that public monuments, however proper in cases of foreign conquest, were not suited to the present juncture. Domestic calamity should be lamented, and as soon as possible consigned to oblivion.

Messalinus added to his motion a vote of thanks to Tiberius and Livia, to Antonia, Agrippina, and Drusus, for their zeal in bringing to justice the enemies of Germanicus. The name of Claudius was not mentioned. Lucius Asprenas desired to know whether that omission was intended. The consequence was, that Claudius was inserted in the vote. Upon an occasion like this, it is impossible, not to pause for a moment, to make a reflection that naturally rises out of the subject. When we review what has been doing in the world, is it not evident, that in all transactions, whether of ancient or of modern date, some strange caprice of fortune turns all human wisdom to

a jest? In the juncture before us, Claudius figured so little on the stage of public business, that there was scarce a man in Rome, who did not seem, by the voice of fame and the wishes of the people, designed for the sovereign power, rather than the very person, whom fate, in that instant, cherished in obscurity, to make him, at a future period, master of the Roman world.

XIX. The senate, a few days afterwards, on the motion of Tiberius, granted the sacerdotal dignity to Vitellius, Veranius, and Servæus. Fulcinius Trio received a promise of the emperor's favour in his road to honours, but was at the same time admonished to restrain the ardour of his genius, lest, by over-heated vehemence, he might mar his eloquence. In this manner ended the inquiry concerning the death of Germanicus; a subject which has been variously represented, not only by men of that day, but by all subsequent writers. It remains, to this hour, the problem of history. A cloud forever hangs over the most important transactions, while, on the one hand, credulity adopts for fact the report of the day; and, on the other, politicians warp and disguise the truth: between both parties two different accounts go down from age to age, and gain strength with posterity.

Drusus thought it time to enjoy the honours of a public entry. For this purpose he went out of the city, and having assisted at the ceremony of the auspices, returned with the splendour of an *ovation*. In a few days after he lost his mother Vipsania; of all the children of Agrippa, the only one that died a natural death. The rest were brought to a tragic end; some, as is well known, by the murderer's stroke; and others, as is generally believed, by poison or by famine.

XX. In the same year Tacfarinas, the Numidian chief, whom we have seen defeated by Camillus in a former campaign, once more commenced hostilities in Africa. He began by sudden incursions; depending for his safety on the rapidity of his flight. Emboldened by success, he attacked several towns and vil-

lages, and went off enriched with plunder. At length, at a place near the river Pagida, he hemmed in a Roman cohort, and held them closely besieged. Decrius, a gallant and experienced officer, who commanded the fort, considered the blockade as a disgrace to the Roman arms. Having exhorted his men to face the enemy on the open plain, he marched out, and formed in order of battle. At the first onset the barbarians made an impression. The cohort gave way. Decrius braved every danger. Amidst a volley of darts, he opposed his person to stop the flight of his men; he called aloud to the standard-bearers, charging them not to incur the shame and infamy of yielding to an undisciplined rabble, a vile collection of runaways and deserters. His efforts were ineffectual. Covered with wounds, and one eye pierced through, he still persisted with undaunted valour, till at last, abandoned by his troops, he died bravely sword in hand.

XXI. Lucius Apronius, who had succeeded Camillus as proconsul of Africa, received the account of this defeat with indignation. The disgrace of the Roman arms touched him more than the glory that accrued to the barbarians. He resolved to expiate the infamy by a dreadful punishment, founded, indeed, upon ancient precedent, and recorded in history; but in modern times fallen into disuse. He ordered the cohort, whose behaviour had been so ignominious, to be decimated: every man upon whom the lot fell, died under repeated blows of the cudgel. The consequence of this severity was, that a body of five hundred veterans, stationed in garrison at Thala, maintained their post against the attempts of Tacfarinas, and even routed the troops lately flushed with victory. In this action, Rufus Helvius, a common soldier, obtained the glory of saving the life of a Roman citizen. He was rewarded by Apronius with a spear and collar. Tiberius ordered the civic crown to be added, observing, at the same time, that the proconsul had the power of granting that reward: yet he censured the omission without asperity, pleased that something was reserved for himself.

Tacfarinas, finding his Numidians unwilling, after-

their defeat, to undertake a siege, changed his plan of operations. He chose a roving kind of war; if the Romans advanced, quick in retreat, and, as soon as the pursuit was over, wheeling round to hang upon the rear. By this desultory mode of skirmishing, the wily African baffled and fatigued the Roman army, till having ravaged the country near the sea-coast, and loaded his men with booty, he was obliged to pitch his camp. In that situation Apronius Cæsianus, son of the proconsul, at the head of the cavalry, the auxiliary cohorts, and a body of light infantry, draughted from the legions, gave battle to the Numidian, and, having gained a complete victory, obliged him to fly to his wilds and deserts.

XXII. At Rome, in the mean time, a prosecution was carried on against Lepida, a woman of illustrious birth, descended from the Æmilian family, and great grand-daughter both to Sylla and Pompey. She was married to Publius Quirinius, a citizen of great wealth, far advanced in years, but without children to inherit his estate. The wife was charged with an attempt to pass a supposititious child for his legitimate issue. Other articles were added; such as adultery, dealing in poison, and consultations with Chaldean astrologers concerning the fate of the imperial family. Her brother, Manius Lepidus, undertook her defence. Quirinius had repudiated her; and yet, after his divorce, attacked her with implacable resentment. This circumstance, notwithstanding the guilt and infamy of Lepida, rendered her an object of compassion. In the course of the proceeding, the real sentiments of Tiberius eluded all discovery. Fluctuating between opposite passions, he mixed and shifted mercy and resentment in such quick succession, that where he would fix it was impossible to guess. He desired that the crime of violated majesty might be thrown out of the case, and in a short time after, ordered Marcus Servilius, of consular rank, and the rest of the witnesses, to prove the very facts over which he pretended to draw a veil. He removed the slaves of Lepida, who had been placed under a military guard, to the custody of the consuls; nor would he suffer

them to be examined under the torture upon any point that concerned himself or his family. He exempted Drusus, though consul elect, from the rule, that required him to give the first vote. This by some was considered as a true republican principle, that the fathers might give their voices, free and uninfluenced by the example of the prince. Others called it a stroke of subtle cruelty, it being by no means probable, that Drusus would decline to speak in order of time, if a sentence of condemnation had not been already fixed.

XXIII. The celebration of the public games suspended the trial for some days. In that interval, Lepida, accompanied by a train of illustrious women, entered the theatre: in a pathetic strain she invoked her ancestors; she called on Pompey in his own theatre (that monument of grandeur,) and addressed herself to the images of that illustrious man. Her grief made an impression; tears gushed from the eyes of the people, and, indignation soon succeeding, bitter execrations were thrown out against Quirinius; "a superannuated dotard, sprung from a mean extraction, to whom in the decline of life, a noble dame, formerly intended to be the wife of Lucius Cæsar, and by consequence, the grand-daughter of Augustus, was joined in wedlock, that he, good man! might raise heirs to his estate." Notwithstanding these clamours, the slaves of Lepida were put to the question. Their evidence amounted to full proof of her guilt; and on the motion of Rubellius Blandus, she was forbid the use of fire and water. Even Drusus gave his assent, though a milder sentence would have been agreeable to the wishes of a considerable number. By the interest of Scaurus, her former husband, who had a daughter by her, the confiscation of her property was remitted. At the close of the proceedings, Tiberius informed the fathers, that he had examined the slaves of Quirinius, and their evidence left him no room to doubt of a formed design to poison her husband.

XXIV. The families of the first consequence at Rome began to feel, with regret, that their numbers

were thinned by repeated misfortunes. The Calpurnian house had lately suffered by the loss of Piso, and the Æmilian was impaired by the condemnation of Lepida. In order to make some amends, Decius Silanus was restored to the Junian family. The particulars of his case seem to merit some attention. The life of Augustus was variously chequered: he was successful against his country, and in his family often unhappy. The intrigues of his daughter and granddaughter embittered his days. He ordered them both to depart from Rome, and punished the adulterers with death or banishment. To the commerce natural between the sexes, that emperor gave the name of sacrilege and violated majesty; and, under colour of this new device, forgot at once the lenity of former times, and even the laws enacted by himself. But the tragic issue that befel offenders of this kind, with other memorable events of that period, shall be the subject of a distinct history, if, when the work now on hand is finished, my life shall be protracted in health and vigour for a new undertaking.

With regard to Silanus, who had a criminal connexion with the grand-daughter of Augustus; his offence drew upon him no greater vengeance than a total exclusion from the friendship of the emperor. That exclusion, as Silanus understood it, implied a sentence of banishment. He retired into voluntary exile, and never, till the reign of Tiberius, presumed to apply, either to the prince or senate, for permission to return to his country. For the favour extended to him, he was indebted to the weight and influence of his brother, Marcus Silanus, who added to his high rank the fame of distinguished eloquence. Marcus prevailed with the emperor, and in a full meeting of the senate, expressed his sense of the obligation. Tiberius answered, that "the return of Decius Silanus, after a long absence, was an event agreeable to all. It was, however, no more than his legal right. No law had abridged his liberty; no decree of the senate was in force against him. And yet it was impossible for the prince to forget the wrongs done to Augustus; nor could the return of Silanus either efface his crime, or

"cancel what had been settled by an injured emperor." From this time Decius Silanus lived at Rome, a private citizen, without honours or preferment.

XXV. The next care of the senate was to soften the rigour of the law *Papia Poppæa*; a law made by Augustus in the decline of life, when the Julian institutions were found ineffectual. The policy was, to enforce, by additional sanctions, the penalties of celibacy, and thereby increase the revenue. Marriage, however, was not brought into fashion. To be without heirs was still considered as a state that gave great advantages. Prosecutors multiplied, and numbers were every day drawn into danger. Informers were the interpreters of justice; and chicane and malice wrought the ruin of families. The community laboured, at first, under the vices of the times, and afterwards, under the snares of law. From this reflection if we here go back to trace the origin of civil institutions, and the progress of that complex system which has grown up to harass mankind, the digression will not be incurious, nor altogether foreign to our purpose.

XXVI. In the early ages of the world, men led a life of innocence and simplicity. Free from irregular passions, they knew no corruption of manners; and void of guilt, they had no need of laws. In the natural emotion of the heart they found incitements to virtue, and rewards were unnecessary. Having no inordinate desires, they coveted nothing, and pains and penalties were unknown. In process of time, when all equality was overturned, and, in the place of temperance and moderation, ambition and violence began to trample on the rights of man; then monarchy was established, in several nations unlimited, absolute, and flourishing at this hour. Some states, indeed, in their first formation, or, at least, soon after they had made an experiment of kings, preferred a government by law; and law, in its origin, was like the manners of the age, plain and simple. Of the several political constitutions known in the world, that of Crete, established by Minos; that of Sparta, by Lycurgus; and

that of Athens, by Solon, have been chiefly celebrated. In the latter, however, we see simplicity giving way to complication and refinement. At Rome, the reign of Romulus was the reign of despotism. His will was the law. Numa Pompilius introduced the rites and ceremonies of religion, and by establishing forms of worship, strengthened the civil union. Some improvements were added by Tullus Hostilius, and some by Ancus Martius. But the true legislator was Servius Tullius: the author of that best policy which made even kings the subjects of the laws.

XXVII. After the expulsion of Tarquin, the people, to secure their rights from powerful factions in the senate, and to prevent the effects of civil discord, were obliged to modify the constitution by new regulations. With this view, the decemvirs were created. Those magistrates, by adopting from the wisdom of other nations what appeared worthy of selection, framed a body of laws entitled the Twelve Tables. All sound legislation ended there. It is true that, after that time, new statutes were enacted; but, if we except a few, suggested by the vices of the times, and passed on the spur of the occasion, they were, for the most part, made in the conflict of parties, and for the worst of purposes; in some instances, to lay open to ambition the road to honours; in others, to work the downfall of illustrious citizens: and, in general, with pernicious motives. Hence the Gracchi, and the Saturnini, those turbulent demagogues; and hence the violent spirit of Drusus, that famous partisan of the senate, who, by largesses and open bribery, supported the claims of the nobility, and by specious promises induced the allies of Rome to espouse his cause, deceiving them at first, and between the senate and the popular leaders, making them in the end, the bubble of contending factions. Hence a wild variety of contradictory laws. In the social war, which involved all Italy, and the civil commotions that followed, new ordinances were established, but with the same contentious spirit, till at length Lucius Sylla, the dictator, by repealing several laws, by amending others, and by organizing a code of his own, gave a check

to the rage of legislation. But the respite was but short. The fiery genius of Lepidus preferred a number of seditious decrees, and the tribunes of the people, resuming their ancient powers, alarmed the state with tumult and popular commotions. The general good was no longer thought of: new characters appeared in the great scene of public business. and new statutes were enacted. In a corrupt republic vice increased, and laws were multiplied.

XXVIII. Pompey at length, in his third consulship, was chosen to correct abuses, and introduce a reformation of manners. His remedies were more pernicious than the mischief. He made laws, and broke them; he had recourse to arms, and by force of arms was ruined. From that time, during a period of twenty years, the rage of civil discord threw every thing into confusion. Justice was silent; the manners were corrupted; vice triumphed with impunity, and virtue met with sure destruction. At length, Augustus in his sixth consulship, finding himself established without a rival, repealed the acts passed by himself during the triumvirate, and gave a new system, useful indeed to the public tranquillity, but subversive of the constitution; fit only for the government of one. The chains of slavery were closely riveted, and spies of state were appointed. To excite and animate the diligence of those new officers, the law *Papia Poppæa* held forth rewards. By that law, the people, under the fiction of universal parent, were declared heirs to the vacant possessions of such as lived in celibacy, regardless of the privileges annexed to the paternal character. To enforce this regulation, informers were encouraged. The genius of those men knew no bounds: they harassed the city of Rome, and stretched their harpy-hands all over Italy. Wherever they found a citizen, they found a man to be plundered. Numbers were ruined, and all were struck with terror. To stop the progress of the mischief, Tiberius ordered a set of commissioners, to be drawn by lot; five of consular rank, five prætorians, and a like number from the body of the senate. Under their direction the law was ex-

plained; ensnaring subtleties were removed; and the evil, though not wholly cured, was palliated for the present.

XXIX. About this time Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, was entering on the state of manhood. Tiberius recommended him to the favour of the senate, adding his request, that the young prince might be excused from serving the office of the vigintivirate, with leave, five years earlier than the time limited by law, to stand candidate for the questorship. As a precedent for this indulgence he cited the example of Augustus, who had made the like application for himself and his brother Drusus. The proposal was a mockery, and, accordingly, men heard it with derision. Even in the reign of Augustus, there were in all probability, numbers who laughed, in secret, at the new way of commanding by petition. The artifice, however, was at that time not impolitic; the grandeur of the Cæsars was in its infancy, and the forms of the old republic were still remembered. With regard to the request made by Tiberius, it may be observed, that the relation between the step-father and the sons of his wife did not create so tender an interest, as the natural affection of a grand-father for his grand-son. The senate not only granted what was asked, but added a seat in the pontifical college. The day, on which the young prince made his first appearance in the forum, was distinguished by a largess to the people, who saw with pleasure a son of Germanicus rising to the estate of manhood. His marriage with Julia, the daughter of Drusus, was soon after celebrated, and diffused a general satisfaction. But another match, then in contemplation, between the son of Claudius and a daughter of Sejanus, was received by the people with every mark of discontent. Men objected, that the lustre of the imperial family would be tarnished, and the ambition of Sejanus, already suspected, would, when strengthened by that connexion, tower above the rank of a citizen.

XXX. Towards the close of the year died two men of distinguished character, namely, Lucius Vo-

lusius, and Sallustius Crispus. The former was of an ancient family, at all times highly honoured, though never raised above the prætorian rank. The deceased was the first of his house that rose to the consulship. When it was afterwards necessary to regulate the classes of the equestrian order, he was for that purpose advanced to the dignity of censor. In the course of his time he accumulated an immoderate fortune, and laid the foundation of that rank and splendour, in which his family flourished after him.

The ancestors of Crispus were of equestrian rank. By the maternal line, he was grand-nephew to Caius Sallustius, the accomplished Roman historian. Being adopted by that illustrious writer, he assumed the family name; and, though the road to honours lay open before him, the example of Mæcenas was the model, on which he formed his conduct. Never aspiring to the rank of senator, he lived in a degree of splendour that eclipsed the consular magistrates, and even the commanders of armies, who had triumphed for their victories. The austerity of ancient manners was to his taste. In his apparel and equipage he was gay and costly; in his style of living, fond of elegance, and even of luxury. Uniting in his character opposite qualities, he was at once a man of pleasure, and a statesman of consummate ability. The vigour of his mind, though often relaxed in indolence, was such as qualified him for the most arduous affairs. When occasion called, he returned to business with an elastic spring, that showed he gained new strength from inactivity. While Mæcenas lived and flourished, Crispus acted the second character. Succeeding afterwards to that minister, he took the lead in the cabinet, the first in favour, and in all secret transactions the confidential manager. Agrippa Posthumus was cut off under his direction. In the decline of life he retained the appearance of power, without the reality; a reverse of fortune which had been felt by Mæcenas, and which, by some fatality, is the usual end of all who bask in the sunshine of a court. Between the prince and his favourite, weariness and satiety suc-

ceed to the ardour of affection, and both begin to wean themselves from each other; the prince, when the power of giving is exhausted; and the minister, when avarice has no more to crave.

XXXI. The year, which we are now to open, stands distinguished by the joint consulship of the father and the son; Tiberius, for the fourth time, and Drusus, the second. It is true that, two years before, Germanicus shared the same honour; but their union was not founded in sincerity and mutual esteem. Throughout that year Tiberius beheld his colleague with a malignant eye. The tie of affinity between them was not so close as the present. Tiberius had scarce entered on the office in conjunction with Drusus, when, pretending to recruit his health, he removed into Campania, perhaps even then meditating that long retreat, which was afterwards his plan of life; perhaps, intending to give Drusus the honour of discharging the consular functions, without the assistance of his father. An incident soon occurred, in itself of little moment, but by the heat of party it kindled to a flame, and afforded to the young consul an opportunity to gain the popular esteem. A complaint was made to the senate by Domitius Corbulo, formerly one of the prætors, stating that Lucius Sylla, a youth of illustrious rank, had refused, in a late show of gladiators, to give place to his superior in point of years. The grave and elderly were on the side of Corbulo. They saw the rights of age infringed, and the example of ancient manners treated with contempt. Mamercus Scaurus and Lucius Arruntius undertook the defence of Sylla, and with the rest of his relations formed a party in his favour. A warm debate ensued. The practice of good times was stated, and several decrees, enforcing the reverence due to age, were cited as decisive authority. Drusus, by a qualifying speech, allayed the ferment. Corbulo declared himself satisfied by the apology made by Mamercus Scaurus, who was uncle as well as father-in-law to Sylla, and, besides, the most eloquent orator of his time. That business being thus amicably settled, the state of the public roads was made the subject of de-

bate by the same Corbulo. The highways, he said, were in a bad condition throughout Italy, neglected every where, and in some places impassable. He imputed the mischief to the fraudulent practices of contractors, and the inattention of the magistrates. He was desired to superintend the business; but the advantage, whatever it was, that accrued to the public, did not counterbalance the ruin of individuals, who suffered, both in reputation and fortune, by the harsh decision of Corbulo, and the confiscation of their effects.

XXXII. In a short time after, the senate received despatches from Tiberius, with intelligence that Africa was again alarmed by the incursions of Tacfarinas. The occasion, the emperor said, required a proconsul of military talents, and vigour equal to the fatigues of war; but the choice was left to the judgment of the fathers. Sextus Pompeius seized this opportunity to launch out in a bitter invective against Marcus Lepidus, whom he styled a man void of courage, destitute of fortune, a disgrace to his ancestors, and by no means fit to be entrusted with the government of Asia, which had then fallen to his lot. The senate was of a different opinion. What was called want of courage, according to them, was mildness of disposition; his indigence was a misfortune, not a disgrace; nor could it be deemed a fair objection to a man, who, in narrow circumstances, supported the dignity of his ancestors, and lived in honourable poverty, with an unblemished character. He was therefore declared proconsul of Asia. The choice of a governor to command in Africa, was by a decree, reserved for the decision of the emperor.

XXXIII. In the course of the debate, a motion was made by Cæcina Severus, that the governors of provinces should be no longer accompanied by their wives. He prefaced the business with repeated declarations, that between him and his wife, who had brought him six children, the truest harmony subsisted; and yet the law, which he now proposed, had ever been the rule of his own conduct; insomuch that in a series of forty years, during which time he had

served as many campaigns, his wife always remained in Italy. "It was with good reason," he said, "that
"in former times, women were neither allowed to
"visit the allies of Rome, nor to have any intercourse
"with foreign nations. The softer sex brought many
inconveniences: in times of peace they were prone
"to luxury, and in war, easily alarmed. A female
"train, in the march of a Roman army, presented
"an image of savage manners: it had the appearance
"of barbarians going to battle.

"That women are by nature feeble, and soon overcome by hardship, was not the only objection: other
"qualities entered into the female character, such as
"pride, revenge, and cruelty, and ambition. The love
"of power is the predominant passion of the sex, and
"in the exercise of it they know no bounds. They
"appear in the ranks; they march with the troops;
"and they entice the centurions to their party. We
"have seen, in a late instance, a woman reviewing
"the cohorts, and directing the exercise of the legions.
"Have we forgot, that as often as rapacity and extortion
"have been laid to the account of the husband, the wife has proved the principal offender?
"She no sooner enters the province, than her party is
"formed. The unprincipled attend to pay their homage.
"She becomes a politician; she takes the lead
"in business, and gives a separate audience. The
"husband and the wife appear in public with their
"distinct train of attendants. Two tribunals are
"established, and the female edict, dictated by caprice
"and tyranny, is sure to be obeyed. By the Oppian
"and other laws, the wife was formerly restrained
"within due bounds: at present all decorum is laid
"aside; women give the law in families; they preside
"in the tribunals of justice, and aspire to be commanders
"in chief."

XXXIV. To this speech a small number assented; the rest received it with a murmur of disapprobation. The business, they said, was not in form before the fathers, and a question of that importance ought not to be drawn into debate by a self-created censor like Cæcina. His argument was answered by

Valerius Messalinus; a man who derived from his father Messala, the celebrated orator, no inconsiderable share of eloquence. "The rigour," he said, "of ancient manners has taken a milder tone. The enemy is not at the gates of Rome, and the provinces have no hostile intentions. In favour of the tender sex some concessions ought to be made, especially since it is now known by experience that the wife, so far from being a burden to the province, is scarcely felt in the private economy of the husband. She is no more than a sharer in his splendour and dignity. In time of peace what danger from her presence? War, indeed, calls for vigour; and men should go unencumbered to the field. When the campaign is over, where can the general so well repose from toil and labour as in the bosom of a wife, whose tenderness relieves his pain, and sweetens every care? But woman, it has been said, ~~are~~ prone to avarice and ambition; what shall be said of the magistrates? Have they always been free from irregular passions? and if not, will it follow that men are to be no longer trusted with the administration of the provinces? We are told, that the vices of the wife have their influence on the manners of the husband: and is it therefore true, that in a life of celibacy we are sure of finding unblemished honour?

"The Oppian laws were formerly deemed expedient: the policy of the times required them; but the manners have varied since, and with the manners the law has been modified. We strive in vain, under borrowed terms, to hide our own defects: the truth is, if the wife exceeds the bounds of the female character, the blame falls on the husband. In two or three instances we may have seen that the men were weak and too uxorious: and shall we for that reason take from the commander of armies, the most endearing comforts of marriage, the mutual joy in prosperity, and, in affliction, the balm that heals his sorrows? By the restraint now proposed, the weaker sex will be left in a state of destitution, the sport of their own caprice, and a prey to the

“passions of the profligate seducer. The presence of the husband is scarce sufficient to guard the sanctity of the marriage bed: what must be the consequence, if they are separated, and as it were, divorced for a number of years? In that interval, the nuptial union may be obliterated from the mind. Let us, if we can, prevent disorder in the provinces; but let us not forget the manners of the capital.”

In this debate Drusus delivered his sentiments. He touched upon the subject of his own marriage, and added, that the princes of the imperial house were liable to the frequent necessity of visiting distant provinces. How often did it happen that Augustus made a progress in the West, and in the East, accompanied by Livia his wife? As to himself, he had commanded in Illyricum, and was ready, if the state required, to serve in any part of the empire; but he should serve with regret, if he was to be torn from an affectionate wife, the faithful mother of all his children. In consequence of these reasonings, Cæcina's motion fell to the ground.

XXXV. The senate at their next meeting received letters from Tiberius, in which, after complaining obliquely that the burden of all public business was thrown on himself, he named Manius Lepidus and Junius Blæsus for the proconsulship of Africa; leaving the choice of one of them to the determination of the fathers. Both were heard: Lepidus, with a degree of earnestness, desired to be excused; alleging the infirmities of his constitution, and the care due to his children, who, except a daughter then fit for the married state, were all of tender years. Lepidus had still a better reason, but he chose to suppress it: it was, nevertheless, well understood that Blæsus was uncle to Sejanus, and of course had the prevailing influence. Blæsus in his turn declined the office, but with affected coyness. Flattery knew on which side its interest lay; and, by consequence, the slaves of power knew how to conquer such feeble reluctance. Blæsus was of course appointed.

XXXVI. A public grievance, which had long been felt with secret discontent, was soon after brought

before the fathers. A licentious spirit of defamation prevailed at Rome, and reigned without control. The vile and profligate launched out with virulence against the best members of society, and the statues of the Cæsars were a sanctuary, where the assassins of every honest name found protection. The freed-men, and even the slaves, poured out a torrent of abuse; and, after lifting their hands against their patrons or their masters, resorted to the same asylum, where they grew more formidable in their insolence. Caius Cestius, a member of the senate, complained of this enormity: "Princes," he said, "represented the gods; but the gods lent a favourable ear to none but the just. Neither the capitol nor the temples were places of refuge, where guilt might find a shelter, and even encouragement. In a late prosecution Annia Rufilla was found guilty of manifest fraud; and if such a woman might with impunity, in the forum, and even in the portal of the senate, insult him with opprobrious language, and even with menaces; if such contumacy were permitted, and the emperor's statue gave a sanction to evil practices, insomuch that he could obtain no redress, all good order was at an end, and the laws were no better than a dead letter." Others spoke to the same effect. Facts still more atrocious were stated, and, with one voice, the whole assembly called on Drusus for exemplary punishment. Rufilla was cited to appear; and, being convicted, the fathers ordered her to be imprisoned in the common jail.

XXXVII. Confidius Æquus and Cælius Cursor, two Roman knights, who had preferred a false charge of violated majesty against Magius Cæcilianus, then one of the prætors, were for that offence condemned, at the desire of Tiberius. From this act of justice, as well as the sentence against Rufilla, Drusus derived no small share of popularity. Men were willing to allow that, by residing at Rome, and by mixing in social meetings, he made some atonement for the dark and sullen spirit of his father. The luxurious passions of a young man were easily excused: Let him, said

the people, indulge his taste for pleasure; let him pass his day in the glare of public spectacles, and his night in social revelry, rather than live sequestered from mankind, without a joy to cheer him, in painful vigils and the gloom of solitude brooding over his cares, and thinking only to engender mischief.

XXXVIII. The ruin of eminent citizens had not yet appeased the rage of Tiberius and his crew of informers. An accusation was preferred by Ancharius Priscus against Cæsius Cordus, proconsul of Crete, for peculation and violated majesty. The last article was, at that time, the burden of every prosecution. Antistius Vetus, a man of the first consequence in Macedonia, had been accused of adultery, and acquitted. This gave umbrage to Tiberius. He censured the judges, and ordered Vetus to be tried on the usual charge of violated majesty. He represented him as a man of a turbulent spirit, and an accomplice with Rhescuporis at the time when that barbarian, having put his nephew, Cotys, to death, was on the eve of a war with Rome. Vetus fell a sacrifice. He was interdicted from fire and water, with an additional sentence, that he should be confined to some island not contiguous either to Macedonia or Thrace.

Since the partition of the latter kingdom between Rhæmetalces and the sons of Cotys, to whom Trebellienus Rufus was appointed guardian, that country continued in a state of tumult and hostility to Rome. The people saw, with minds exasperated, the grievances inflicted on the natives, and, having no prospect of redress, accused Trebellienus no less than Rhæmetalces. In the same juncture the Cælaletans, the Odrysæans, Dians, and other adjacent states, in one general revolt, had recourse to arms. They took the field under their own respective chiefs, men of no consideration, and all by their meanness and incapacity reduced to one common level. Hence no concerted plan, no spirit of union. By one party the country was laid waste; another passed over mount Hæmus, with a design to draw distant nations into their confederacy; while the most numerous and bes

disciplined troops sat down before Philippopolis (a city founded by Philip of Macedon,) and there held hæmetalces closely besieged.

XXXIX. On the first intelligence of this revolt, Publius Velleius, who commanded an army in the neighbourhood, sent a detachment of horse and light infantry in pursuit of the insurgents, who spread themselves over the country, either with a view to plunder, or to reinforce their numbers. He himself marched a force to raise the siege. He was successful in every quarter: the freebooters were put to the sword; and dissensions breaking out among the besiegers, hæmetalces made a sally in the moment when the Roman army came up to his relief. The barbarians abandoned the place. Of these events, however prosperous, there is no room to speak in the pomp of military language: a rabble of savages, without discipline, and almost without weapons, cannot be called an army; nor was that a battle, where the enemy was cut to pieces, without the effusion of Roman blood.

XL. In the course of the same year a rebellion broke out among the cities of Gaul, occasioned by the load of debt that oppressed the common people. The principal leaders of the revolt were Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir; the former a man of weight among the Treveri, and the latter among the Æduans. They were both of illustrious birth. Their ancestors had deserved well of the Romans, and, for their services, received the freedom of the city, at a time when that privilege was rare, and the reward of merit only. By these incendiaries secret meetings were held; the fierce and daring were drawn into the league, together with such as languished in poverty, or, being conscious of their crimes, had nothing left but to grow desperate in guilt. Florus undertook to kindle the flame of rebellion in Belgia; and Sacrovir to rouse the neighbouring Gauls. The plan thus settled, they abalbed in private, held frequent meetings, and left no topic untouched that could inflame the minds of the people. "Tributes," they said, "were levied with unabating rigour; usurious interest oppressed the poor, and their haughty masters continued to

“lord it over them with pride and arrogance. By the
“murder of Germanicus, disaffection was diffused
“among the legions, and the opportunity to strike the
“blow for liberty was now arrived. Reflect on the
“numbers we can bring into the field: remember the
“impoverished state of Italy. At Rome every war-
“like principle is extinguished. The strength of their
“armies is mouldered away. They have no national
“strength, but depend altogether on foreign nations
“to fight their battles.”

XLi. A general spirit of revolt prevailed in every part of Gaul. Scarce a city was free from commotion. The flame blazed out among the Andecavians and the people of Tours; but by the diligence of Acilius Aviola, who marched from Lyons at the head of a cohort, the insurgents in the former province were reduced to obedience. The same commander, with a legionary force, detached by Visellius Varro, from the Lower Germany, marched into the territory of Tours, and quelled the insurrection. In this expedition some of the principal chiefs in Gaul joined the Roman army, not with zeal for the cause, but pretending friendship, in order, with surer effect, to be traitors in the end. Even Sacrovir fought with the Romans: he was seen in the heat of action with his head uncovered, in order, as he gave out, to signalize his courage and fidelity: but in truth, as was afterwards collected from the prisoners, to avoid being aimed at by the darts of his countrymen. An account of these disturbances was transmitted to Tiberius. He doubted the intelligence, and by his indecision prolonged the war.

XLII. Julius Florus, in the mean time, continued to exert his most vigorous efforts. A regiment of horse, raised formerly among the Treveri, but trained to the Roman discipline, happened to be quartered at Treves. He tampered with those troops, in hopes of beginning the war by a general massacre of the Roman merchants. A small number listened to his advice, but the rest continued in their duty. Florus was followed by a rabble of debtors, and a number of his own dependants. He marched towards the forest

of Arden, but was intercepted by the legions detached by Visellius and Caius Silius from the two armies on the Rhine. A party of those troops was ordered forward under the command of Julius Indus, a native of Treves, who was then at variance with Florus, and, for that reason, burned with impatience to encounter his enemy. He gave battle to the rebels, and over an ill-appointed and undisciplined multitude gained a complete victory. Florus lay for some time concealed in lurking places; but at length, finding himself unable to elude the search of the Roman soldiers, and seeing the defiles and passages guarded on every side, he died by his own sword. The people of Treves, after this event, returned to their duty.

XLIII. The Ædunan commotions were not so easily quelled. The state was rich and powerful, and the force necessary to subdue the insurrection lay at a considerable distance. Sacrovir strained every nerve to support his cause. He seized the city of Augustodunum, the capital of the Æduans, and took into his custody the flower of the young nobility, who resorted thither from all parts of Gaul, as to a school of science and liberal education. By detaining those pledges, he hoped to attach to his interest their parents and relations. He supplied the young men with arms, which had been prepared with secrecy by his directions. His numbers amounted to less than forty thousand, a fifth part of which were armed after the manner of the legions: the rest carried hunting-poles, knives, and other instruments of the chase. He had, besides, pressed into his service a body of slaves, reared up to the trade of gladiators, and, according to the custom of the country, clad with an entire plate of iron. In the language of Gaul they were called CRUPELLARIANS. Their armour was impenetrable to the stroke of the enemy, but at the same time rendered the men too unwieldy for the attack. The adjoining provinces had not taken up arms: but a number of individuals caught the infection, and joined the rebel army. Sacrovir gained a further advantage from the jealousies subsisting between the Roman generals. Each claimed to himself the conduct of the

war; and the dispute continued till Varro, finding himself impaired by age, gave up the point to Silius, who was then in the vigour of his days.

XLIV. Meanwhile a report prevailed at Rome, that not only the Æduans and the Treviri, but several other cities of Gaul, to the number of sixty-four, had thrown off the yoke. Germany, it was added, had joined the league; and Spain was wavering. The rumour, as usually happens, was magnified by the credulity of the populace. Good men felt for their country; the greater part, detesting the present system, and wishing for nothing so much as a change, enjoyed the confusion, and triumphed in the common danger. Invective did not spare Tiberius. "In a difficult and alarming crisis, he was busy in settling the forms of some new prosecution. Did he mean to proceed by way of information against Julius Sacrovir? Was that chieftain to be accused of violated majesty? The revolt plainly showed that there still existed men of undaunted valour, who were resolved, at the point of the sword, to defy his letters written in blood to the senate; and war, with all its dangers, was preferable to a sanguinary peace, under a despotic tyrant." Amidst these murmurs of discontent, Tiberius appeared with an unruffled temper, never once changing his look, his place of abode, or his habits of life. Is this to be ascribed to magnanimity? or did he know by secret intelligence, that the whole was either false, or magnified beyond the truth?

XLV. Silius, in the mean time, having sent before him a body of auxiliaries, marched at the head of two legions into the territory of the Sequanians, a people at the extremity of Gaul, bordering on the Æduans, and confederates in the war. He laid waste the country and proceeded, by rapid marches, to Augustodunum. Nothing could equal the ardour of the legions: the standard-bearers with emulation gave every proof of their alacrity; the common soldiers declared, with one voice, that they wanted no repose: the night ought not to be lost in sleep; let them but see the enemy, they asked no more; victory was sure to fol-

low. At the distance of twelve miles from Augustodunum, Sacrovir appeared in force. His line of battle was formed on the open plain. The gladiators, in complete armour, were stationed in the centre; his cohorts in the two wings, and his half-armed multitude in the rear. He was himself mounted on a superb horse, attended by a number of chiefs. He rode through the ranks, haranguing his men: he called to mind the glory of their ancestors, their brave exploits against the Romans, and the eternal honour of succeeding in the cause of liberty. A defeat, he said, would bring with it infamy, and chains, and bondage.

XLVI. The speech was short, and the soldiers heard it without emotion. The legions advanced in regular order. A band of raw recruits, lately levied in the towns of Gaul, could not sustain a sight so terrible. The faculties of eyes and ears were lost in confusion. By the Romans victory was already anticipated. To exhort them was unnecessary, yet Silius thought proper to inflame their ardour. "The disgrace," he said, "would be great, if the victorious legions, who had conquered in Germany, were now to consider the Gauls as an equal enemy. The rebels of Tours have been chastised by a single cohort; a detachment of the cavalry crushed the insurgents at Treves; and a handful of this very army gave the Sequanians a total overthrow. The Æduans are now before you; not an army, but an effeminate race, abounding in wealth, and enervated by luxury. Charge with valour, and to pursue the runaways will be your only trouble." This speech was received with a general shout. The rebels were soon hemmed in by the cavalry: the front of their line gave way at the first onset of the infantry, and the wings were put to flight. The men in iron armour still kept their ranks. No impression could be made by swords and javelins. The Romans had recourse to their hatchets and pickaxes. With these, as if battering a wall, they fell upon the enormous load and crushed both men and armour. Some attacked with clubs and pitchforks. The unwieldy and defenceless enemy lay on the ground, an inanimate

mass, without an effort to rise. Sacrovir threw himself into the town of Augustodunum, but in a short time, fearing to be given up a prisoner, withdrew, with his most faithful adherents, to a villa in the neighbourhood, where he put an end to his life. His followers, having first set fire to the place, turned their swords against themselves, and perished in one general carnage.

XLVII. Tiberius, at length, thought fit to write to the senate on the subject of these commotions. In one and the same letter he gave an account of the war begun and ended. He neither magnified nor disguised the truth, but in plain terms ascribed the whole success to the valour of his officers, and the wisdom of his councils. Why he did not go in person, or send his son Drusus, the same letter explained his reason: "The extent and majesty of the empire claimed his utmost care. It was not for the dignity of the prince, on the revolt of one or two cities, to relinquish the seat of government. But now, since he could not be supposed to be under any kind of alarm, it was his intention to show himself to the provinces, in order, by his presence, to allay the ferment, and restore the public tranquillity." Vows for his return, and solemn festivals, with other usual ceremonies, were decreed by the senate. Dolabella, intending to display his genius in the trade of flattery, succeeded so far as to show his meanness and absurdity. He proposed that the emperor, on his return from Campania, should enter the city with the splendour of an ovation. This occasioned a letter to the senate from Tiberius, wherein he observed, "that after conquering fierce and warlike nations, and having in his youth received and declined triumphal honours, he was not such a novice to glory as to desire, in the evening of his days, the vain parade of a public entry, for an excursion that was little more than a party of pleasure to the suburbs of Rome."

XLVIII. About this time Tiberius wrote to the senate, requesting that a public funeral might be decreed to Sulpicius Quirinius; a man no way related to the

ancient patrician family of the Sulpicii. He was born at Lanuvium, a municipal town: he distinguished himself by his military services, had considerable talents for business, and was raised by Augustus to the honour of the consulship. Having afterwards stormed and taken the strong holds of the Homonadensians in Cilicia, he obtained triumphal honours. He attended Caius Cæsar in his expedition to Armenia, the chief director of his councils, and made use of that opportunity to pay his court with secrecy, to Tiberius, while that prince resided in the isle of Rhodes. This anecdote Tiberius mentioned in his letter; declaring himself, in gracious terms, well pleased with the good offices of Quirinius, and at the same time, reflecting with a degree of acrimony on Marcus Lollius, to whose conduct he imputed the dissensions between himself and Caius Cæsar. But the character of Quirinius was held in no esteem; his unrelenting prosecution of Lepida, already related, was still remembered; and the sordid avarice of the man, even in old age, and in the height of power, left a stain upon his memory.

XLIX. The year closed with a prosecution of a singular nature. Caius Lutorius Priscus, a Roman knight, was the author of an applauded poem on the death of Germanicus, and for his composition had received a reward from Tiberius. The crime laid to his charge was, that, when Drusus lay ill, he prepared another elegy, from which he hoped, if the young prince died, to derive still greater emolument. With the vanity of a poet, Lutorius read his verses at the house of Publius Petronius, in the presence of Vitellia, the mother-in-law of that senator. Several women of distinction were of the party. As soon as the prosecutor opened the heads of his accusation, the confidential friends of the author were struck with terror. The fact was admitted by all, except Vitellia: she had the memory of a liberal-minded woman, and could recollect nothing. Credit, however, was given to the rest of the evidence. Haterius Agrippa, consul elect, was the first to give his opinion: he proposed that the unfortunate poet should suffer death.

L. Manius Lepidus opposed the motion. He spoke as follows: "If in our deliberations, conscript fathers, we advert to nothing but the flagitious sentiments, by which Lutorius has discovered the malignity of his heart, and wounded the ear of others, neither the dungeon, nor the rope, nor the torments, which the law ordains for slaves, would be adequate to the enormity of his guilt. But on the other hand, however great the depravity of mankind, there are degrees of punishment. The clemency of the prince interposes often to mitigate the rigour of the law; the wisdom of our ancestors has delivered down to us a system of justice founded in mercy, and you have, on many occasions, followed their example. If between error in judgment and malignity of heart a distinction is to be made, if words and criminal actions are not to be confounded, the case before us admits a sentence, which at once will reach the offence, and leave us no reason to blush either for our moderation or our severity. The complaints of the emperor when the guilty, by a voluntary death, have prevented the effect of his clemency, have been heard by us all. Lutorius lives; and should he continue to do so, will the state be in danger? His death will neither promote the public interest, nor serve as an example to others. Productions such as his, the effusions of a wild and irregular fancy, may well be left to flutter for a time, and then, like all frivolous things, to be forgotten. Nothing serious or important is to be expected from him, who betrays himself, not in the hearing of men, but in a circle of women. And my voice is against him: let him be condemned to exile: let his effects be confiscated; let fire and water be interdicted. This is my opinion, the same as I should give, had he been in due form convicted on the law of violated majesty."

LI. Rubellius Blandus, of consular rank, was the only person that assented to the opinion of Lepidus. The rest concurred with Agrippa. The poet was hurried away, and strangled in a dungeon. Concerning these proceedings, Tiberius wrote to the senate in his

usual style, ambiguous and inexplicable. He commended the zeal of the fathers, even in a matter of no importance, but he desired that, for the future, words alone should not be punished with so much precipitation. He praised the humanity of Lepidus, yet found no fault with Agrippa. This produced a decree, by which it was enacted, that no sentence of condemnation should, for the future, be sent to the treasury, till the tenth day after passing it; and in the interval, execution was to be suspended. The fathers, however, were not to have the power of rejudging their own acts, or revoking their sentence. The appeal was to be to Tiberius, and no time could soften that implacable temper.

LII. Caius Sulpicius and Decimus Heterius were the next consuls. The year was free from foreign commotions; but at Rome new laws were expected to check the growth of luxury, and that apprehension spread a general alarm. The prodigality of the times had risen to the highest pitch. In many articles of expense, and those the heaviest, the real price might be concealed; but the cost of the table was too well understood. The profusion, with which luxury was maintained, could not remain a secret. It was therefore apprehended, that a prince, addicted to the frugality of ancient manners, would endeavour by severe regulations to control the mischief.

The subject was opened in the senate by Caius Bibulus, one of the ædiles: his colleague joined to support him. They stated that the sumptuary laws were fallen into contempt. The extravagance in furniture and utensils, though prohibited, grew every day more enormous, insomuch that, by modern penalties, the mischief was not to be cured. The senate, without further debate, referred the whole to the consideration of the emperor. Tiberius weighed every circumstance: he knew that passions, which had taken root could not be easily weeded out of the heart: he considered how far coercive measures might be a public grievance. If an unsuccessful attempt gave a victory to vice, the defeat he saw would be a disgrace to government; and the necessity of waging

continual war against the characters and fortunes of the most eminent citizens, was what he wished to avoid. After mature deliberation, he sent his thoughts in writing to the senate, in substance as follows:

LIII. "Upon any other question, conscript fathers, "it would perhaps be expedient that I should attend "the debate in person, and, in my place, lay before "you what I conceive to be for the advantage of the "commonwealth. At present, it may be better that "my eyes should not survey the scene. In so mixed "an assembly, many no doubt, by their looks and "manner, might be apt to betray a consciousness of "their own vicious habits. The attention of the senate would naturally fix upon such men, and I "should, of course, be led to watch their behaviour: "in that case, the guilty would, as it were, be taken "in the fact. Had the ædiles, whose zeal deserves "commendation, applied in the first instance to me, "I should, perhaps, have thought it advisable to connive at vices that have gathered strength from time, "rather than expose to the world the inveteracy of "the mischief, and the feebleness of legal remedies. "Those magistrates, it must be acknowledged, have "performed their duty with a spirit which every civil "officer would do well to emulate. As to myself, to "remain silent, were a desertion of the public; and "to speak out, may be impolitic. The part which "I sustain is neither that of ædile, prætor, or consul. "From the emperor something more than the minute "detail of business is expected. The pre-eminence "is painful, while individuals claim the merit of all "the good that is done, and, if men transgress, the "blame is transferred to the prince. At the expense "of one, all are guilty. If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin? and how am I to restore "the simplicity of ancient times? Must I abridge "your villas, those vast domains, where tracts of land "are laid out for ornament? Must I retrench the "number of slaves, so great at present that every "family seems a nation in itself? What shall be said "of massy heaps of gold and silver? of statues "wrought in brass, and an infinite collection of pic-

tures, all indeed highly finished, the perfection of art? How shall we reform the taste for dress, which, according to the reigning fashion, is so exquisitely nice, that the sexes are scarce distinguished? How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of female vanity, and, in particular, with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets, which drains the empire of its wealth, and sends in exchange for bawbles, the money of the commonwealth to foreign nations, and even to the enemies of Rome?

LIV. "That these abuses are the subject of discussion at every table, and the topic of complaint in all private circles, I am not now to learn. And yet, let a law be made with proper sanctions, and the very men, who call for a reform, will be the first to make objections. The public peace, they will say, is disturbed; illustrious families are in danger of ruin; and all, without distinction, must live in dread of rigorous inquiries, and the harpies of the law. It is with the body politic as the body natural: in the latter, chronical disorders, in time grown obstinate, call for harsh and violent remedies. Just so in the distempers of the mind: the heart, sick to the very core with vice, corrupted and corrupting, requires an antidote as strong as the poison that inflames our passions. Many wholesome laws were made by our ancestors, and many by Augustus: the former are grown obsolete; and the latter (to the disgrace of the age) are fallen into contempt, and, by consequence, luxury riots without control. The reason is obvious: while there is no law in force to prevent abuses, men proceed with caution, that the magnitude of the mischief may not provoke the authority of the legislature; but when positive institutions are found inadequate, the case is very different: unbridled passions take their course with impunity, and all transgress without fear or shame.

"Why was frugality the practice of ancient times? because each individual was a law to himself: he knew how to moderate his desires; because we were then the inhabitants of a single city. Even

“Italy, when reduced to subjection, afforded but few
“incentives to luxury. Foreign victories taught us to
“dissipate the property of others; and the civil wars
“made us prodigal of our own. But after all, is the
“mischief, which the ædiles make the ground of their
“complaint, the worst of our grievances? Compare
“it with other evils, and it vanishes into nothing.
“Italy stands in need of foreign supplies, and yet no
“reformer tells us, how much the commonwealth is
“every day at the mercy of the winds and waves.
“The produce of colonies is imported to maintain
“our pride and luxury, to feed the master of the soil,
“and to supply his slaves with the necessaries of life.
“Should those resources fail, will our groves, our vil-
“las, and our spacious pleasure grounds be sufficient
“to satisfy our wants? That care is left to the sove-
“reign. Should he neglect that essential duty, the
“commonwealth is lost. With regard to other evils,
“the remedy is in the breast of every individual.
“Men of rank may be restrained by principle, the
“poor by indigence, and the rich by satiety. These
“are my sentiments. If, notwithstanding, any ma-
“gistrate should be of opinion that more may be
“done; if he feels within himself vigour and indus-
“try to oppose the torrent; I honour the firmness of
“his character, and cheerfully resign to abler hands a
“great part of my own solicitude. But when he has
“declaimed against corruption, if his zeal is to eva-
“porate in a florid speech; if the violence of party
“resentments, which his patriot cares have roused, is
“to point at me, while the censor of the manners
“enjoys the fame of his eloquence: believe me, con-
“script fathers, I am not more than another, ambi-
“tious of making enemies. To encounter animosi-
“ties, for the most part unprovoked, and often
“unjust, is too much my lot at present; and yet for
“the interest of the community, it is a tax which I am
“willing to pay. But if I deprecate new hostilities,
“permit me, with your consent, to avoid all such as
“may be excited without due consideration, useless to
“the state, and to me big with every disadvantage.”

LV. This letter being read, the senate released the

ædiles from all farther care about the business. Luxury went on with boundless profusion. It began soon after the battle of Actium, and continued to flourish, for the space of a century, down to the time when Galba attained the imperial dignity. At that period the manners changed, and temperance became the fashion. Of this revolution in the modes of life a short account will not be improper. While the old constitution still subsisted, pomp and splendour were often the ruin of the most illustrious families. To conciliate the favour of the populace, and of the allies of Rome, including even kings and princes, was the great object of a Roman citizen. In proportion to his wealth, his grandeur, and the magnificence of his retinue, his importance rose, and with it the number of his clients. But when the best blood in Rome was spilt by imperial tyranny, and to be eminent was to be marked out for destruction; it became the interest of the great to lay aside all vain ostentation, and adopt a more humble plan of life. At the same time, a new race of men from the municipal towns, the colonies, and the provinces, found their way, not only to Rome, but even into the senate. The strangers thus incorporated brought with them their natural parsimony. In the course of a long life many of them, either by their own frugality, or a tide of success in their affairs, accumulated immoderate riches; yet even in affluence, avarice was their ruling passion. But the cause, which, above all others, contributed to the revival of ancient economy, was the character of Vespasian; a man of primitive temperance and rigid austerity. All agreed to imitate so excellent a model. Respect for the prince did more than all the pains and penalties of the law. And yet, it may be true, that in the nature of things there is a principle of rotation, in consequence of which the manners, like the seasons, are subject to periodical changes. Nor is it certain that, in the former ages of the world, every thing was better than in the times that succeeded. The present age has produced, in moral conduct and the liberal arts, a number of bright examples, which posterity will do well to imitate. May the contest with anti-

quity continue! but let it be a generous emulation for superior virtue; and may that spirit go down to future times!

LVI. Tiberius gained by these proceedings a considerable share of popularity. His moderation in the business of the intended reform, gave satisfaction to all ranks and conditions. The people saw, with pleasure, the tribe of informers disappointed in their views. In this favourable moment, Tiberius, by letters to the senate, desired that his son Drusus might be invested with the tribunitian dignity. That specious title, importing nothing less than sovereign power, was invented by Augustus, at a time when the name of king or dictator was not only unconstitutional, but universally detested. And yet a new name was wanted to overtop the magistrates and the forms of the constitution. In that power usurped, Marcus Agrippa became his colleague; and, after his death, Tiberius Nero succeeded. By the last promotion, it was the policy of Augustus to mark out the line of succession, and thereby check the views of aspiring men. He was sure that Tiberius would act an under part, and, besides, his own name was a tower of strength. Tiberius, in the present juncture, followed the precedent left by Augustus. During the life of Germanicus, he held the balance even between the two young princes, reserving to himself the power of deciding when he should see occasion. In the letter, which opened the matter to the senate, after invoking the gods, and fervently praying that the measure might be of advantage to the commonwealth, he introduced the character of Drusus, but in a guarded style, never exceeding the bounds of truth. The prince, he said, had a wife and three children, and was then of the age, which he himself had attained when raised by Augustus to the same honour. Nor could the favour now requested, be deemed premature. Drusus had gone through a probation of eight years; the proofs of his merit were, seditions quelled, wars happily terminated, the splendour of a triumph, and two consulships. There was therefore no danger that he would be a novice in public business.

LVII. The senate was not taken by surprise: the emperor's intention had been foreseen, and flattery was ready with her servile strain. Invention, notwithstanding, was at a loss for novelty. Statues were decreed to Tiberius and his son; altars were raised to the gods; temples were built, and triumphal arches erected, with other honours of a similar nature. Marcus Silanus aimed at something new. Willing, at the expense of the consular dignity, to pay a compliment to the princes, he proposed that, in all public and private registers, the year should no longer take its date from the names of the consuls, but from the persons invested with the tribunitian power. Quintus Haterius went still farther; he moved that the decrees of that day should be fixed up in the senate-house in letters of gold. His motion was treated with contempt and ridicule. The fathers saw with indignation a superannuated senator, who, on the verge of life, could incur present infamy, without a prospect of future wages.

LVIII. Amidst these transactions, the government of Africa was continued to Junius Blæsus. The proconsulship of Asia, happening then to be vacant, was demanded by Servius Maluginensis, the priest of Jupiter. In support of his claim, he contended, "that the inability of a priest, in his station, to go out of Italy, was a vulgar error. The order to which he belonged, differed in nothing from that of Mars and Romulus. If the priest of the two last were eligible to foreign governments, whence arose his incapacity? No prohibitory law was ever passed by the people; the books of religious ceremonies are silent on the subject. In particular cases, when the ministers of Jupiter were detained, either by illness or by public business, one of the pontiffs officiated in his place. After the tragical death of Cornelius Merula, a space of no less than seventy-six years elapsed, without any nomination to the office: did the interests of religion suffer in the mean time? During that whole period, the sacerdotal function was suspended, without prejudice to the established worship; and why should not his absence be ex-

“cused during the year of proconsular government?
“That some of his predecessors had been restrained
“by the authority of the chief pontiff, was a fact not
“to be controverted; but the restraint, in those cases,
“was the effect of private animosity. At present, by
“the indulgence of the gods, the chief pontiff is the
“chief of men; a stranger to all petty jealousies; un-
“influenced by the cabals of a party, and superior to
“the little motives of a private station.”

LIX. Lentulus, the augur, and several other senators, opposed the motion. A debate ensued, with so much diversity of opinion, that the question was referred to the decision of the supreme pontiff. Tiberius was not in haste to determine the point. In his letters to the senate, he mentioned nothing but the honours decreed to Drusus on his elevation to the tribunitian power; and those he thought good to modify with certain restrictions. He censured, in direct terms, the resolution proposed by Silanus, and likewise the motion of Haterius, for fixing up the decrees in letters of gold; condemning both as unconstitutional, and repugnant to ancient usage. Letters from Drusus were, at the same time, read in the senate, modest in the style and turn of expression, but, in the general opinion, denoting pride and arrogance. “Rome,” they said, “was reduced to an humble condition, when a young man, raised to the highest dignity, declines to return thanks to the gods in their own temples; when he disdains to honour the senate with his presence, and refuses to attend the usual auspices in his native city. Was it war that detained him? or did he dread the inconvenience of a long journey, when he was only visiting the coast of Campania, or pursuing his pleasures on the lakes? This is the education of him, who is to be the future master of the Roman world! He is tutored in the political school of his father! Tiberius may have his reasons for withdrawing himself from the public eye: the infirmities of age, and the labours of his life, afford a colourable pretext; but for Drusus, what apology can be made? Pride, rank, pride, is his only motive.”

LX. To strengthen the foundation of his own power was the constant policy of Tiberius. Intent on that object, he still preserved the forms of the constitution, and amused the senate with a phantom of liberty. All petitions from the provinces were referred to that assembly. About this time, the right of having sanctuaries, and of multiplying the number without limitation, was assumed by all the cities of Greece. The temples in that country were crowded by the most abandoned slaves; debtors screened themselves from their creditors, and criminals fled from justice. The magistrates were no longer able to control a seditious populace, who carried their crimes, under a mask of piety, to the altar of their gods. An order was therefore made, that the several cities should send their deputies to Rome, with a state of their respective claims. Some places, finding their pretensions brought to the test, thought proper to decline the inquiry. The rights of others were founded on traditional superstition; and superstition was not willing to renounce her errors. Some of the cities relied on the merit of their ancestors in the service of Rome. The business came at length to a hearing. A day more august and splendid cannot be figured to the imagination. We now behold a Roman senate sitting in judgment on the grants of the old republic; discussing the treaties and conventions of confederate nations; deliberating on the acts of kings, while kings were able to make a stand against the power of Rome; and, above all, reviewing the various systems of religion, which had been for ages established in the belief of mankind. These were the important subjects; and to give still greater dignity to the scene, the senate met, as was the practice in good times, with authority to inquire, and liberty to determine.

LXI. The case of the Ephesians was the first brought forward. It was stated in their behalf, that Diana and Apollo were not, as generally supposed, born in the isle of Delos, but in the Ortygian Grove, on the banks of the river Cenchris, which flows within the territories of Ephesus. In that sacred recess, Latona, taking shelter under an olive tree, was deli-

vered of those two deities. The tree was still to be seen in a flourishing state, and the grove became a consecrated spot. It was there that Apollo, after having slain the Cyclops, found a retreat from the vengeance of Jupiter; it was there that Bacchus, after his victories, gave a free pardon to such of the Amazons as fled for protection to the altar; and it was there that Hercules, having conquered Lydia, established a temple, with rites and ceremonies, which neither the Persian kings, nor the Macedonian conqueror, presumed to violate. The Romans at all times paid the strictest regard to the sanctity of the place.

LXII. The Magnesians were the next in order. They relied on the ordinances of Lucius Scipio, confirmed and ratified by Lucius Sylla; the former victorious over Antiochus, and the latter over Mithridates. In the wars which were waged under their conduct, the Magnesians adhered with fidelity to the cause of Rome; and to reward their services, the temple of Diana Leucophrynè was, by those commanders, declared a sanctuary. The people of Aphrodisium, and also of Stratonicè, produced a decree of Cæsar the dictator, and another of Augustus, commemorating the zeal, with which those states withstood the Parthian invasion, and preserved to the last their attachment to the interest of Rome. The Aphrodisians claimed the temple of Venus; the Stratoniceans worshipped Jupiter and Diana Trivia. The city of Hierocæsarea deduced their ceremonies from remote antiquity, alleging that they had for ages adored a Persian Diana, in a temple consecrated by Cyrus. Several orders made by Perpenna, by Isauricus, and other Roman generals, were also cited, whereby it appeared that those sanctuaries, with a precinct two miles round, were declared holy ground. The inhabitants of Cyprus claimed three sanctuaries; the first and most ancient, dedicated by Aerias to the Paphian Venus; the second, by Amathus, the son of Aerias, in honour of the Amathusian Venus; and the third, to the Salaminian Jove, by Teucer, the son of Telamon, when that hero was obliged to fly from the rage of his father

LXIII. Several other cities appeared by their deputies; but the senate, weary of the number, and of the party-spirit, with which different places were espoused, came to a resolution, to refer the whole to the consuls, and wait their report on the merits of each distinctive case. The consuls went through the inquiry. Besides the temples already mentioned, they found at Pergamos the sanctuary of Æsculapius, confirmed by authentic proof. The titles of other places, being all deduced from ages too remote, were lost in the darkness of antiquity. In this number was the oracle of Apollo, by which it was pretended, that the people of Smyrna were commanded to build a temple to Venus Stratonice; and another of the same god, directing a temple and a statue to Neptune, in the isle of Tenos. The Sardians, and the people of Miletus, were content with a more modern date. The former relied on the privileges granted by Alexander; and the latter, on the authority of Darius. Diana was the tutelar deity in one of those cities, and Apollo in the other. The statue of Augustus was held to be a sanctuary by the inhabitants of Crete. Several decrees were passed, with due attention to the religious tenets of the people, yet limiting the number of sanctuaries. These regulations were ordered to be engraved in brass, and fixed up in the respective temples, as lasting monuments, to ascertain the rights now established, and prevent the future claims of national pride, or blind superstition.

LXIV. About this time a fit of illness threatened the life of Livia. Her danger was so alarming, that it occasioned the emperor's return to Rome. Hitherto the mother and son had lived on terms of mutual regard, or, at worst, with hatred well disguised. Livia, not long before, had raised a statue to Augustus, near the theatre of Marcellus. In the votive inscription her own name preceded that of the emperor. To the jealous temper of Tiberius this was an offence against the imperial dignity. His resentment, however, was suppressed, and for that reason, was thought to have sunk the deeper. The senate proceeded to

order supplications for the recovery of Livia, with solemn games on the occasion; in which the pontiffs, the augurs, the college of fifteen, with that of the septemvirs, and the sodality of Augustan priests were to conduct the ceremonies. Lúcius Apronius moved that the heralds at arms should likewise officiate. Tiberius opposed the motion. It proceeded, he said, on a mistaken principle. He mentioned the distinct functions of the several orders of the priesthood, and made it clear, from ancient precedents, that the herald had never been admitted to that participation of honour. The fraternity of Augustan priests was called forth with good reason, since that order belonged, in a peculiar manner, to the family for which public vows were to be offered.

LXV. To give in detail, the several motions and resolutions of the time, is not within the plan of this work. And yet, when virtue and fair integrity do honour to the heart, or when a slavish spirit brands the character, in either case, it is my intention to select the particular instances. In this I apprehend consists the chief part of the historian's duty. It is his to rejudge the conduct of men, that generous actions may be snatched from oblivion, and that the author of pernicious counsels, and the perpetrator of evil deeds, may see beforehand, the infamy that awaits them at the tribunal of posterity. In general, a black and shameful period lies before me. The age was sunk to the lowest depth of sordid adulation; inasmuch that not only the most illustrious citizens, in order to secure their pre-eminence, were obliged to crouch and bend the knee, but men of consular and prætorian rank, and the whole body of the senate, tried with emulation which should be the most obsequious slave. We are informed by tradition, that Tiberius, as often as he went from the senate-house, was used to say in Greek, "Devoted men! how they rush headlong into bondage!" Even he, the enemy of civil liberty, was disgusted with adulation, he played the tyrant, and despised the voluntary slave.

LXVI. From acts of base compliance, the next step of degenerate men was to deeds of horror. Caius Si-

lanus, proconsul of Asia, was accused of rapine and extortion by the people of the province. The conduct of the cause was undertaken by Mamercus Scaurus, of consular rank; by Junius Otho, at that time prætor; and Brutidius Niger, one of the ædiles. The complaint was aggravated by an additional charge of irreverence to the divinity of Augustus, and disaffection to Tiberius. Mamercus affected to grace himself by citing the bright examples of a former day; Scipio Africanus, he observed, prosecuted Lucius Cotta; Cato, the censor, appeared against Servius Galba, and Marcus Scaurus, against Publius Rutilius; as if those great and excellent men had instituted prosecutions for constructive crimes like the present; as if Scaurus, the grandfather of the prosecutor, had descended to so vile an office. It was reserved for Mamercus, to degenerate into an informer, and tarnish the lustre of his ancestors. Junius Otho, another prosecutor, had been by profession the teacher of a school. Raised from that obscurity by the patronage of Sejanus, he obtained a seat in the senate, and hoped by flagitious deeds to efface the meanness of his origin. Brutidius was a different character. Adorned with liberal accomplishments, and formed for great things, he was sure of reaching the first honours of the state, had he been willing to walk in the paths of virtue. His impatience ruined him. Eager to outstrip his equals, and then to rise over his superiors, he enlarged his views; and began to soar above his most flattering hopes: but his ambition led him to the precipice from which good men have often fallen, when, not content with slow, but sure success, they have hurried on with too much ardour, and ended their career in ruin.

LXVII. Gellius Poplicola, who had been quæstor to Silanus, and Marcus Paconius, his lieutenant, listed on the side of the prosecution. Silanus, beyond all doubt, was guilty both of rapine and oppression; but in his case a number of circumstances, dangerous even to innocence, conspired against him. Besides the persons already mentioned, the most able orators of Asia, men who were chosen on account of their eloquence, united their strength. Against that pow-

erful combination, Silanus stood alone, obliged, without any powers of oratory, to make his own defence with fear and trembling; a situation that might disarm the noblest talents. Tiberius helped to increase his difficulties. With a stern tone of voice, and a contracted brow, he pressed the defendant with sudden questions, never suffering him to pause a moment, either to repel or elude the charge. Silanus was obliged to admit several points, rather than seem to refute or baffle the inquiry of the emperor. His very slaves, to make them competent witnesses, were sold by auction to the public officer; and, to make destruction sure, Tiberius added the crime of violated majesty, that none of the prisoner's family or friends might presume to assist in the defence. Silanus desired an adjournment of a few days. In that interval, abandoning all his hopes, he sent a memorial to Tiberius, in a style sufficiently humble, but still with the spirit of a man who felt himself oppressed, and dared to speak the language of reproach.

LXVIII. Tiberius remained inflexible; but, to give the colour of precedent to his final sentence, he ordered the proceedings against Volesus Messala who had also been proconsul of Asia, with the record of Augustus, and the decree made on that occasion, to be read. He then collected the votes, beginning with Lucius Piso. That senator, after some flourishes in praise of the emperor's clemency, concluded, that Silanus should be interdicted from fire and water, and banished to the isle of Gyarus. The fathers concurred in the same opinion, when Cneius Lentulus proposed, by way of mitigation that the estate which descended to Silanus from his mother, should not be included in the general forfeiture, but vested in the grandson. Tiberius agreed to the amendment. The business seemed to be at an end, when Cornelius Dolabella rose to show, that his servile spirit had not deserted him. He launched out into a sharp invective against the morals of Silanus, grafting on it a motion, that no man of dissolute manners should be eligible to the government of provinces; and of this incapacity the emperor should be the sole judge.

"When a crime is committed, the law takes cognisance of it, and inflicts the punishment. But a law to prevent the offence, would be at once an act of mercy to bad men, and a blessing to the provinces."

LXIX. Tiberius spoke in reply: "To the reports," he said, "which were current to the disadvantage of Silanus, he was no stranger. But laws ought to have a better foundation than public rumour. The governors of provinces had often disappointed the hopes, and sometimes the fears of mankind. By important scenes of action the powers of the mind are roused; the heart expands to meet the occasion; while, on the other hand, feeble spirits shrink from a great opportunity, and grow less by elevation. The prince can never be fully informed; and it is not fit that he should see with the eyes of others. The arts of ambitious rivals may deceive him. In human affairs nothing can be foreseen with certainty, and without facts, laws can have no operation. Till men have acted, they cannot be judged. It was the wisdom of our ancestors to keep the sword of justice in the scabbard, till actual offences drew it forth. In a system so just in itself, and so long established, innovations ought not to be rashly made. The cares of government are a burden to the sovereign, and his prerogative wants no enlargement. Extend his authority, and you abridge the rights of the subject. When the laws in being are sufficient, there is no occasion to resort to the will of the prince."

This was, no doubt, a constitutional speech. From a man little studious of popularity, it was received with universal approbation. Tiberius did not stop here: when his own private resentment was not provoked, he knew that moderation was the best policy: with that view he thought proper to add, that Gyarus was a dreary island, uncultivated, and inhospitable. In honour, therefore, of the Julian family, and from motives of lenity to a man who was a member of the senate, he proposed to change the place of banishment to the isle of Cythera: and this, he said, was the request of Torquata, sister to Silanus, and a

vestal virgin of distinguished sanctity. The fathers complied, and a decree was passed accordingly.

LXX. The Cyrenians presented a charge of rapine against Cæsius Cordus. Ancharius Priscus conducted the prosecution, and sentence of condemnation was pronounced. Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, who had melted down a silver statue of the emperor, and converted it to domestic uses, was accused on the law of majesty. Tiberius stopt the proceedings. Against this act of lenity Ateius Capito protested openly; contending, with an air of ancient liberty, that "the right of the senate to hear and determine, ought not to be retrenched; especially when a crime of that magnitude called for vindictive justice. The prince, in his own case, might be slow to resent; but let him not be generous at the expense of the public." This language, blunt as it was, gave no offence to Tiberius: he saw the drift of the speech, and, disregarding the tone with which it was uttered, persisted in his resolution. Capito brought disgrace on his name. Accomplished as he was in the science of laws, both human and divine, he possessed, besides, a number of virtues that adorned his private character; but by this act of servile flattery he sullied the lustre of a distinguished name.

LXXI. A question that concerned a point of religion was the next subject of debate. The Roman knights had vowed a statue, for the recovery of Livia, to FORTUNE THE EQUESTRIAN. In what temple this should be placed was the doubt. At Rome there were various structures sacred to the goddess, but none under that specific title. Upon inquiry it was found that there was at Antium a temple with that particular denomination; and it being considered that the whole system of rites and ceremonies, and the several temples and images of the gods throughout Italy, were subject to the supreme authority of Rome, it was resolved that the votive present should be placed at Antium. This being a point of religious ceremony, Tiberius took the opportunity to determine the question, which had been for some time in suspense, concerning Servius Maluginensis, the priest of Jupiter.

He produced and read a decree of the pontifical college, whereby it appeared that the priest of Jupiter, when his health required it, or when he obtained a dispensation from the supreme pontiff, might absent himself from the duties of his function two nights at most; provided it was not during the public ceremonies, nor more than twice in the course of the year. From this regulation made by Augustus, it was evident that a year's absence, and of course a proconsular government, was incompatible with the sacerdotal function. The authority of Lucius Metellus, who, when high pontiff, would not suffer Aulus Posthumius, a priest of Jupiter, to depart from Rome, was also cited. It followed, that the province of Asia could not be granted to Maluginensis. It fell to the lot of the person of consular rank, who stood next in seniority.

LXXII. During these transactions, Marcus Lepidus petitioned the senate for leave to repair and decorate, at his own expense, the basilisk of Paulus, that noble monument of the Æmilian family. The display of private munificence in public works, which embellished the city, was not yet fallen into disuse. In the reign of Augustus without any objection from that emperor, Taurus, Phillippus, and Balbus, with the spoils which they had taken from the enemy, or with the superfluity of their own immoderate wealth, added greatly to the ornament of Rome, and by consequence, to the honour of their families. Encouraged by this example, but with a fortune much inferior, Lepidus revived the glory of his ancestors. The theatre of Pompey had been destroyed by fire; and, the remaining branches of the family not being equal to the expense of so great a structure, Tiberius declared his intention to build a new edifice, with the original name. He congratulated the senate, that the damage occasioned by the late fire, was confined to that single building. For this, he said, they were obliged to the vigilance of Sejanus. The senate decreed a statue to be placed in the theatre of Pompey, in honour of the favourite. In a short time af-

terwards, when triumphal ornaments were granted to Junius Blæsus, the proconsul of Africa, Tiberius made no scruple to declare, that his motive for bestowing that high reward, was to pay a compliment to Sejanus, as the proconsul was his uncle.

LXXIII. Blæsus, however, had fairly earned his honours. Tacfarinas, often repulsed, was never defeated. He found resources in the interior parts of Africa, and returned to the conflict with new vigour. He had at length the arrogance to send an embassy to Tiberius, demanding lands for himself and his army, or nothing should make an end of the war. Tiberius, it is said, was upon no occasion so little master of himself. "It was an insult to the imperial majesty, and the Roman name. Shall a deserter, a wandering vagabond, presume to treat on equal terms? Even Spartacus, though he had defeated consular armies, and spread desolation with sword and fire through the realms of Italy, was not allowed to negotiate terms of peace, though the commonwealth, at that time, was well nigh exhausted by Sertorius, and the Mithridatic war. Even then no compromise was admitted; the dignity of the state was saved. And shall a flourishing empire descend so low as to compound with Tacfarinas, and, by granting lands, become the purchaser of peace at the hands of a freebooter and a robber?" Stung by these reflections, Tiberius ordered Blæsus to seduce the followers of Tacfarinas by promises of a free pardon to all who should lay down their arms; but as to their chief, he must strain every nerve to secure the person of that daring adventurer.

LXXIV. The promised amnesty reduced the numbers of the enemy; and Blæsus, adopting a new mode of war, turned the arts of the wily Numidian against himself. Unequal to the legions in a pitched battle, Tacfarinas depended altogether upon the rapidity of his motions: he divided his men into small parties; he showed himself in sudden incursions, fled before a regular force, and knew where to lie in ambush. The Romans accordingly marched in three columns, by as

many different routes. In the quarter where the Africans ravaged the country near Leptis, and then fled for shelter to the Germantes, Cornelius Scipio, the proconsul's lieutenant, advanced with his division. In another quarter, where Cirta lay exposed to the barbarians, the younger Blæsus, the proconsul's son, commanded a second detachment. In the intermediate part of the country, the commander in chief marched at the head of a chosen body of troops. At all convenient places he threw up entrenchments, and appointed garrisons, securing every station by a regular chain of posts.

The barbarians found themselves counteracted on every side. Wherever they turned, the Romans were at hand, in front, in flank, and in the rear. Numbers were surrounded, and either put to the sword, or taken prisoners. To spread the alarm, the Roman army was again subdivided into smaller parties, under the command of centurions of approved valour and experience. Nor was the campaign closed, as usual, at the end of the summer. Instead of retiring to winter-quarters in the old provinces, Blæsus kept the field; he increased the number of his posts and garrisons, and sent out detachments, lightly armed, with guides acquainted with the course of the country. Tacfarinas could no longer stand at bay. He shifted his huts, and wandered from place to place. At length his brother was taken prisoner, and Blæsus thought it time to close the campaign. His retreat was sudden and premature. The province was still open to incursions; and the flame of war, though suppressed, was not extinguished. Tiberius, however, considered the enemy as completely vanquished. Besides the honours already granted to Blæsus, he ordered that the legions should salute him by the title of IMPERATOR, according to the ancient custom of the Roman armies, in the pride of victory flushed with the generous ardour of warlike spirits. In the time of the republic, this was a frequent custom, in-somuch that several, at the same time, without pre-eminence or distinction, enjoyed that military honour.

It was often allowed by Augustus, and now by Tiberius, for the last time. With him the practice ceased altogether.

LXXV. Rome, in the course of this year, lost two illustrious citizens: the first was Asinius Saloninus, grandson both to Marcus Agrippa and Asinius Pollio, half-brother to Drusus, and, besides, the intended husband of the emperor's grand-daughter. The second was Ateius Capito, already mentioned; a man, for his abilities and his knowledge of the laws, of the first eminence in the state. From his birth he derived no advantage. His grand-father was a centurion under Sylla: his father rose to the rank of prætor. Capito was, with rapid speed, advanced by Augustus to the consular dignity, and, by that promotion, placed above his competitor, Antistius Labeo, who had grown into celebrity by his talents and his skill in jurisprudence. It was the peculiar felicity of that age to see flourishing together those two illustrious rivals, who, in peaceable times, were the ornaments of their country. The fame of Labeo rose on the surest foundation; he was a strenuous assertor of civil liberty, and for that reason the favourite of the people. Capito knew his approaches to the great, and by his flexibility became a favourite at the court of Augustus. Labeo was not suffered to rise above the prætorian rank; but that act of injustice raised his popularity: while, on the other hand, Capito obtained the consulship, and with it the public hatred.

LXXVI. In this year also, the sixty-fourth from the battle of Philippi, Junia, niece to Cato, sister of Brutus, and the widow of Cassius, paid her debt to nature. Her will engrossed the public conversation. Possessed of immoderate riches, she left marks of her regard to almost all the eminent men at Rome, without mention of Tiberius. The omission gave no umbrage to the emperor. He considered it as the exercise of a civil right, and not only suffered her funeral panegyric to be spoken from the rostrum, but allowed the last ceremonies to be performed with the usual

pomp and magnificence. In the procession were seen the images of the most illustrious families, in number not less than twenty; the Manlii, the Quintii, and others of equal rank. Those of Brutus and Cassius were not displayed; but for that reason they were present to every imagination, and with superior lustre eclipsed the splendour of the day.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

















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